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Hepatitis C

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Most Don't
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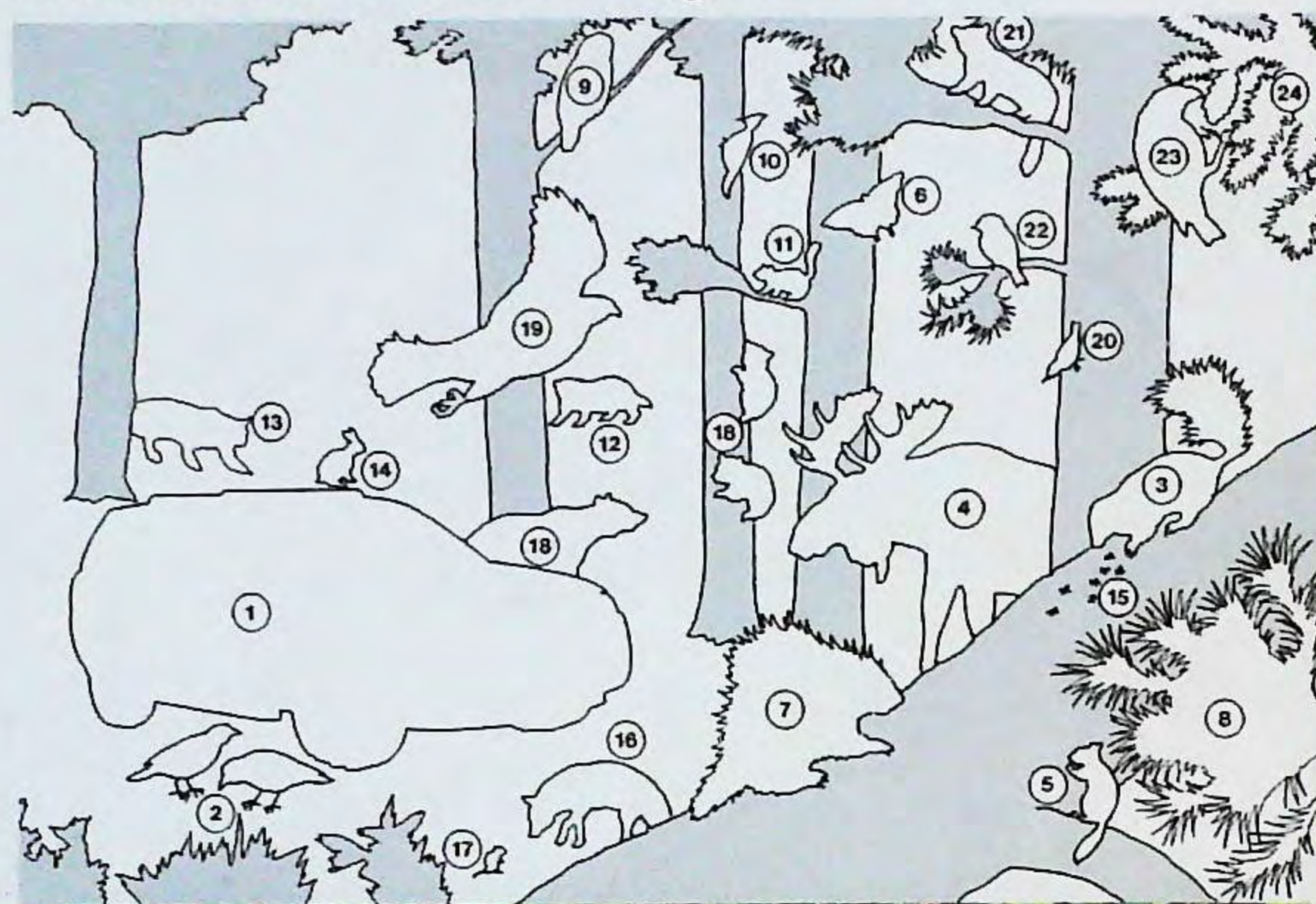
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Creatures of the evergreen forest



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|----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Saturn VUE | 9. Great Gray Owl | 17. Deer Mouse |
| 2. Raven | 10. Pileated Woodpecker | 18. Black Bear |
| 3. Striped Skunk | 11. Red Squirrel | 19. Goshawk |
| 4. Moose | 12. Wolverine | 20. Red-Breasted Nuthatch |
| 5. Eastern Chipmunk | 13. Puma | 21. Marten |
| 6. Tiger Swallowtail | 14. Snowshoe Hare | 22. Black-Capped Chickadee |
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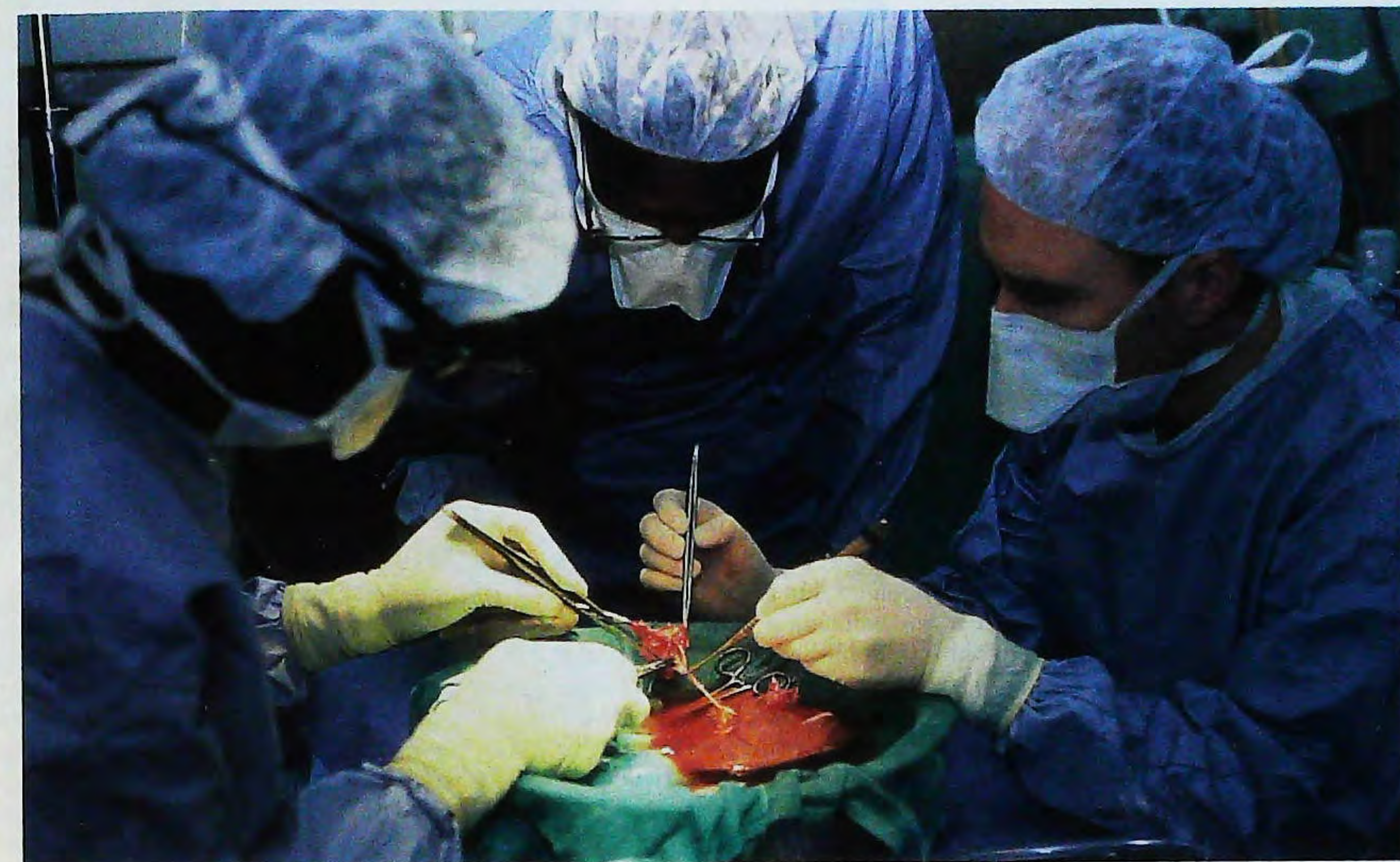
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Top of the Week



The Spread of Hepatitis C

Three to 4 million Americans may be carrying a postcard from their past and not even know it. Tracking the quiet rise of hepatitis C, a stealth virus that can incubate for decades—sometimes the result of IV drug use or an unlucky transfusion—and then strike without warning.

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Newsweek

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WEB EXCLUSIVE

The Return of the King | Get Ready for Elvis



Crooning for the MTV set

4.12 >> If Elvis really is in hiding somewhere, the next few months might be a good time for him to make a reappearance. As the country approaches the 25th anniversary of Presley's death on Aug. 16, Elvis will be inescapable. Hoping not only to lure nostalgic baby boomers, but to turn on their MTV-raised kids, record companies will offer up rare recordings on CD. Publishers, meanwhile, are set to release a rash of retrospective books. And during the next six months, Presley's songs will be used to sell just about everything—even products completely unrelated to the singer. (Go online for Suzanne Smalley's complete story.)

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

We Need a 'Total Transformation'

When you give seminars at big, established companies, what are the issues that they're most worried about for the future?

Management guru TOM PETERS: The good news is that they do not see survival as automatic. The bad news is that they are uniformly unwilling to embark on a journey of total transformation. We need to embrace risk-taking, acknowledge uncertainty and more or less be willing to let the chips fall where they may.

Which jobs and industries will suffer most or



disappear entirely as a result of new technology?

In a world where the computer chip will take over the drudge work, you and I must be deeply engaged and deeply care about the work we're doing. Thus the issue is not "what's good" or

"what's bad." It is, instead, where do I want to make a unique contribution which will turn me on? From our Online Forum with technology visionaries on companies of the future. Log on to join the discussion.

A SPECIAL SCHEDULE OF LIVE TALKS

The Week Ahead on the Web



Join **Christopher Dickey** on Tuesday, April 16, at noon, ET, for a Live Talk about a Mideast peace plan that could succeed.



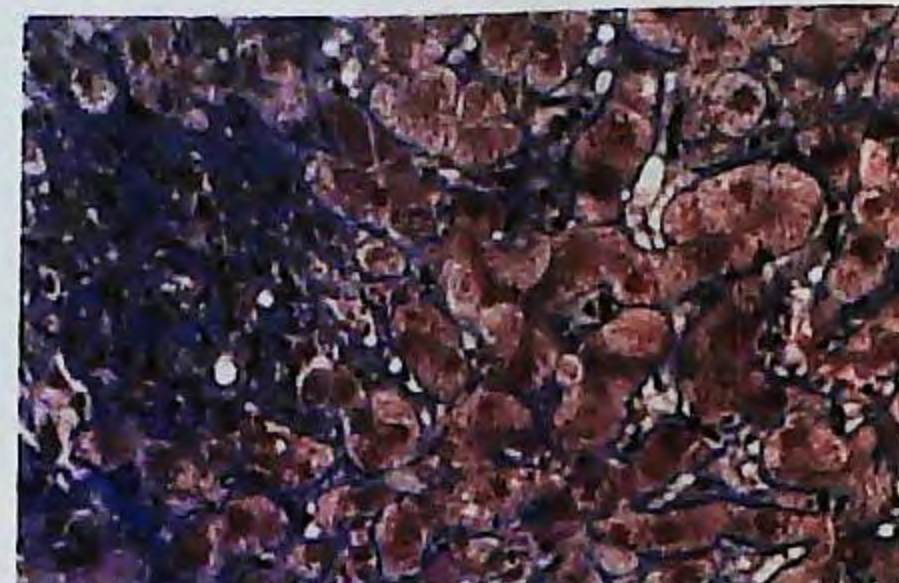
Join our Online Forum: on Wednesday, April 17, at noon, ET, **Steven Levy** will discuss the workplace of the future.



Worried about hepatitis C? **Geoffrey Cowley** will host a Live Talk about the disease on Thursday, April 18, at noon, ET.



Meet the star of ABC's "The Bachelor." **Alex Michel** joins us for a Live Talk on Friday, April 19, at noon, ET.



The virus wasn't even discovered until 1988

BYLINES

How Hepatitis C Sneaked Up on America

In the early 1980s, as he watched the AIDS epidemic explode, **Geoffrey Cowley** says he wondered what other grim medical surprises would be spawned by America's social and technological shifts. "Well, here we have one," Cowley says. "There was no way to have a large hepatitis C epidemic before needles and blood transfusion came into wide use. Those technologies created a new ecological niche, and hep C was right there to exploit it." Cowley says he continues to be struck by the virus's stealthlike attack on people who appear to be unlikely victims. "A friend told me just last week that he and his wife are infected," Cowley says. "These are smart, successful, middle-aged people with three beautiful children. They both toyed briefly with IV drugs as college kids in the '70s, and now they're living the story we've written." (Page 46)

Finding a Path to Peace



Rescue workers at the scene of last Friday's suicide bombing

Even by Mideast standards, the Israeli blockade of Jenin was intense. "It's in a flat plain surrounded by hills," says correspondent **Joshua Hammer**. "So it's almost impossible to enter without being seen." When Hammer finally drove into town on a back road, "Israeli

jeeps surrounded the car within five minutes" and he was ordered to leave. "This is a propaganda war as much as anything else," Hammer says. And is there a way out of the conflict? **NEWSWEEK's Christopher Dickey** and **Daniel Klaidman** surveyed Palestinians, Israelis, diplomats and Mideast experts and say the answer is yes—and lay out the basic contours of a proposed plan. (Page 22)

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Operation Anaconda: What the Pilots Saw

AT APPROXIMATELY 3 a.m. local time on March 4, Razor 3, piloted by Chief Warrant Officer "Al," roared out of the darkness and set down at Objective Ginger, on a ridgeline near the battlefield. His cargo of Army, Navy and Air Force operators was tasked with calling in airstrikes on Qaeda troops attacking 101st Airborne soldiers nearby. As soon as they touched down, "the place lit up" with rocket and machine-gun fire. A door gunner was wounded; the chopper's hydraulic and electrical systems shredded. Al threw the 60-foot-long Chinook helicopter into the air, heading south, when the crew shouted the horrifying news: "A guy's out!" A Navy SEAL, Petty Officer Neil Roberts, had somehow fallen out of the chopper. "I turned around to go get him," said Al. "That's when the controls locked up." Al couldn't pick up the lost man. He limped south, looking for a safe landing zone, and calling on a battery-powered radio to his wingman to rescue Roberts. But the radio wasn't working. Last week Al and his comrades from the 160th Special Operations Aviation Regiment gave NEWSWEEK this exclusive account of what happened to them in Operation Anaconda.

It took wingman chief "Jason," in Razor 4, 45 minutes to reach Al's chopper. With reports of Qaeda troops converging on their position, Razor 4 loaded everyone onboard and returned to a Special Forces base near Gardez, dropping off Al and his crew before returning to Ginger with the operators to look for Roberts. When Razor 4 hit the LZ they were met with heavy machine-gun fire, but they dropped off the team before hobbling back to base. On the ground, a firefight



ON THE WAY TO WAR: A Special Forces Chinook piloted by 'Al' over Afghanistan

with Qaeda forces broke out. Air Force Special Operations Combat Controller Sgt. John Chapman was shot and killed. Two other Chinooks, Razors 1 and 2, loaded a quick reaction force of Rangers and headed to the battlefield. Razor 1 roared into Ginger about 6:30 a.m., and in the morning light it was easy for Qaeda fighters to hit the huge black chopper as it neared the ground. The 20-ton Chinook belly-flopped onto the snow. "Everybody around me got hit," says the mission commander, Chief Warrant Officer "Don." "The two pilots in front of me were wounded, one door gunner was wounded. The other, Phil Svitak, was killed. Three Rangers were killed right then." The surviving Rangers dashed out the back and took up positions in the snow, firing on the guerrillas only 25 yards away. Razor 2, with another team of Rangers, approached the besieged Americans, but, says Al, "the team on the ground told him don't go into that LZ, or you're not coming out." The pilots dropped off their Rangers nearby, and the troopers hiked up the

mountain to link up with their comrades. No one could get out. Enemy fire was too heavy. The Americans were cut off from rescue, but were not forgotten. An AC-130 gunship stayed overhead, raining fire on the enemy positions until it was almost out of

Americans, their wounded and seven dead. Among them was Neil Roberts, the man they came to save. His body was recovered during the battle for what the men who fought there call Roberts Ridge.

COLIN SOLOWAY

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

Powell Mission Edition

When running for prez, Dubya cooled things out by insisting that savvy advisers would compensate for his greenness. Guess what—when they disagree, he's lost.

	C.W.
Bush	Old CW: Bracing moral clarity. New: Muddled, clueless confusion.
Powell	Will he buy the Euro "moral equivalent" argument—or stand tall against terrorism?
Arafat	He's shocked by suicide bombers. Even as he supports them. And the world winks.
Sharon	OK, Big Guy, you made your point. Now withdraw and negotiate.
Gore	Tan, clean-shaven and ready, gives comeback speech in Fla. Uh, Al, the recount's over.
AOLTW	Media giant desperately shuffles online execs as stock tanks. You've got fail?



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CHAVEZ: 'He came from a different planet'

told that "this was not acceptable, that a coup was not the way to go," says one U.S. source. Nonetheless, U.S. officials were practically jubilant after Chávez was ousted and replaced, with military backing, by

VENEZUELA

No Role—But No Complaint

BUSH OFFICIALS ADAMANTLY deny playing any role in last week's coup against Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez. But that doesn't mean they didn't want him out. Chávez—an ally of Fidel Castro's—was widely seen in Washington as a hostile figure whose erratic leadership threatened U.S. oil supplies as well as efforts to crack down on guerrilla forces tied to drug trafficking and terrorism in neighboring Colombia. Administration sources confirmed to NEWSWEEK that in late February disident Venezuelan military officers informed U.S. Embassy officials in Caracas about planning a coup. The officers were

Pedro Carmona Estanga. They praised him as a moderate who could unify the country—and work with Washington. "Chávez sort of gave the impression he came from a different planet. This guy you can sit down and talk to," one U.S. military adviser noted.

Celebrations proved premature: Carmona resigned less than two days later amid growing chaos. That hardly lowers the stakes. One area where a change could make a difference: the battle against FARC guerrillas in Colombia. The Bush administration is moving to expand U.S. military and intelligence assistance to disrupt FARC and other groups tied to the drug trade, sources say. While Chávez has given the FARC a haven inside Venezuela, a more moderate leader might crack down, officials say.

MICHAEL ISIKOFF



HOLDING SOMEONE ACCOUNTABLE: Ground Zero tribute

WTC VICTIMS

Suing the Saudis—And Saddam

SAUDI TYCOONS AND ARAB despots could become the next targets of U.S. lawyers who won billions from the cigarette industry. A legal team led

by tobacco lawyer Ron Motley is signing up families of September 11 victims for an anticipated civil lawsuit against wealthy Muslims who may have bankrolled the 9-11 attacks. Defendants could include Iranian mullahs, Iraq's Saddam Hussein and Saudi businessmen suspected of financing Al Qaeda through charities, says a member of the legal team. To dig up evidence, the lawyers have recruited Terry Lenzner, the Washington private investigator hired by President Clinton's lawyers during the Paula Jones case. The purpose of the proposed lawsuit is to "hold accountable" people implicated in "facilitating" the 9-11 attacks, says legal team member Alan Gerson, who is also suing Libya on behalf of victims of the 1988 Lockerbie bombing.

MARK HOSENBALL

CLONING FRIST GOES RIGHT

As the only medical doctor in the Senate, Tennessee Sen. Bill Frist helped persuade President George W. Bush to support federal funding for stem-cell research. But Frist disappointed his allies in the medical and scientific community when he backed Bush's call for a ban on human cloning that would bar experimentation even on unfertilized, pre-embryonic cells. Cloning opponents probably don't have the 60 votes needed to pass the legislation, but Frist has given Bush political cover by adding his medical expertise to the moral objections of pro-life conservatives. Michael Man-



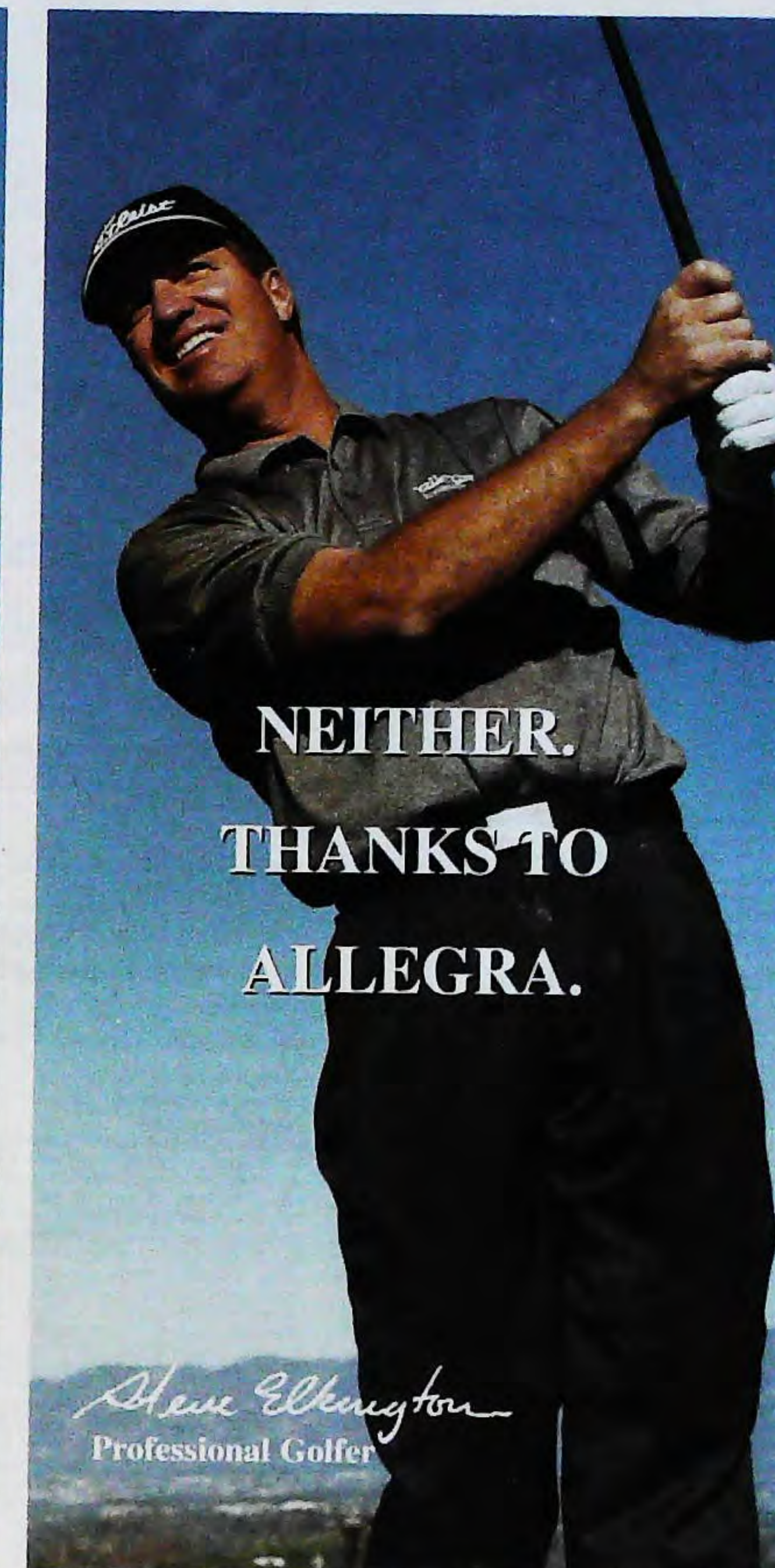
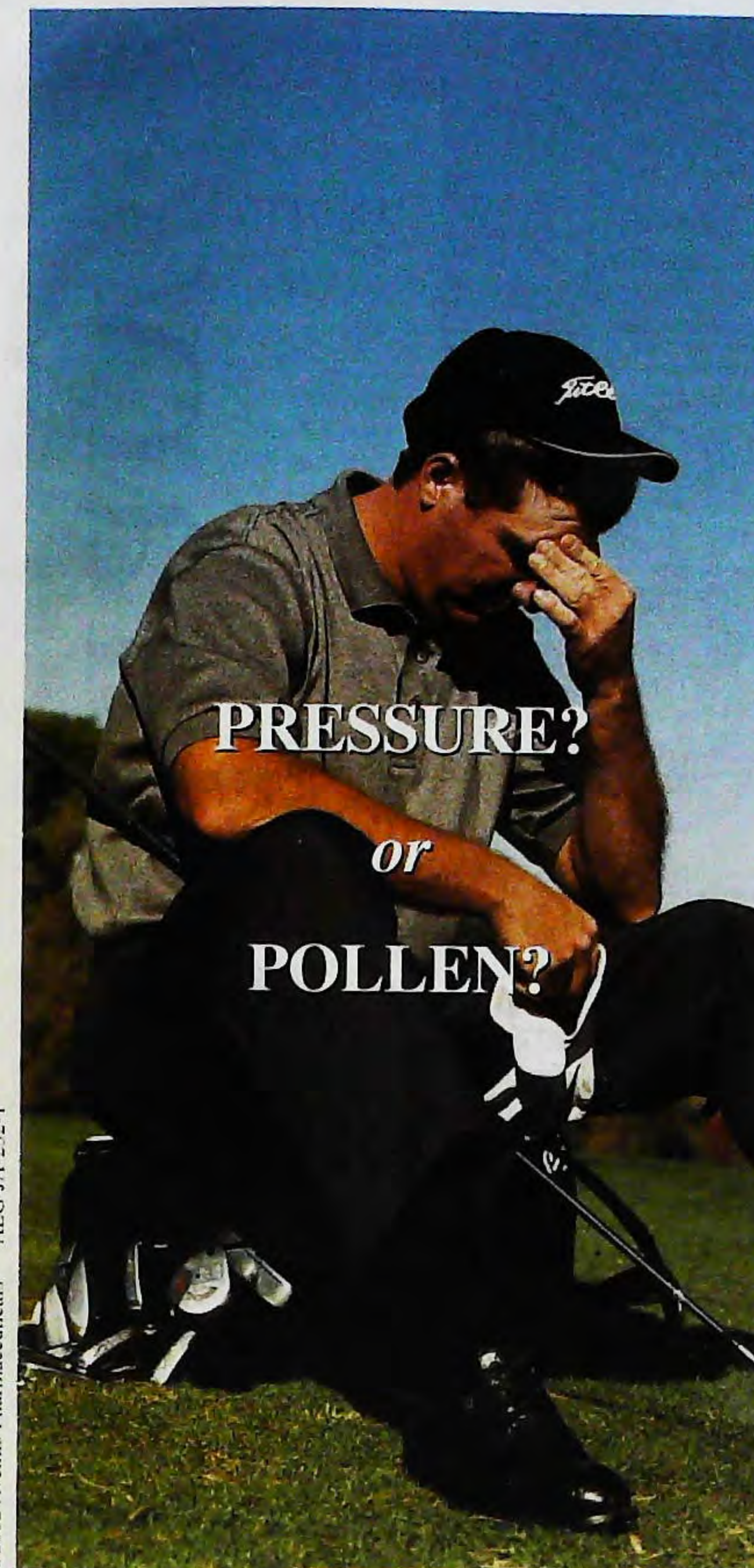
AMBITIONS? The senator

ganiello, of the Coalition for the Advancement of Medical Research, finds Frist's position puzzling, since experimenting with unfertilized cells seems "much less of a moral quandary" and holds such promise in curing diseases. Others are not surprised: Frist is being talked about as a possible replacement for Dick

Cheney as Bush's running mate in 2004. "He took a step to the right to accommodate his political ambition, but it was not a giant step," says a GOP health-care lobbyist. Supporters of the research hope another prominent pro-life senator, Orrin Hatch of Utah, will speak out on their side.

ELEANOR CLIFT

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Brief Summary of Prescribing Information as of November 2000

ALLEGRA® (fexofenadine hydrochloride) Capsules and Tablets

INDICATIONS AND USAGE

Seasonal Allergic Rhinitis

ALLEGRA is indicated for the relief of symptoms associated with seasonal allergic rhinitis in adults and children 6 years of age and older. Symptoms treated effectively were sneezing, rhinorrhea, itchy nose/palate/throat, itchy/watery/irritated eyes.

Chronic Idiopathic Urticaria

ALLEGRA is indicated for treatment of uncomplicated skin manifestations of chronic idiopathic urticaria in adults and children 6 years of age and older. It significantly reduces pruritus and the number of wheals.

CONTRAINDICATIONS

ALLEGRA is contraindicated in patients with known hypersensitivity to any of its ingredients.

PRECAUTIONS

Drug Interactions with Erythromycin and Ketoconazole

Fexofenadine hydrochloride has been shown to exhibit minimal (ca. 5%) metabolism. However, co-administration of fexofenadine hydrochloride with ketoconazole and erythromycin led to increased plasma levels of fexofenadine hydrochloride. Fexofenadine hydrochloride had no effect on the pharmacokinetics of erythromycin and ketoconazole. In two separate studies, fexofenadine hydrochloride 120 mg twice daily (two times the recommended twice daily dose) was co-administered with erythromycin 500 mg every 8 hours or ketoconazole 400 mg once daily under steady-state conditions to normal, healthy volunteers (n=24, each study). No differences in adverse events or QTc interval were observed when patients were administered fexofenadine hydrochloride alone or in combination with erythromycin or ketoconazole. The findings of these studies are summarized in the following table:

Effects on steady-state fexofenadine hydrochloride pharmacokinetics after 7 days of co-administration with fexofenadine hydrochloride 120 mg every 12 hours (two times the recommended twice daily dose) in normal volunteers (n=24)

Concomitant Drug	C _{max} (Peak plasma concentration)	AUC _{0-12h} (Extent of systemic exposure)
Erythromycin (500 mg every 8 hrs)	+62%	+109%
Ketoconazole (400 mg once daily)	+135%	+164%

The changes in plasma levels were within the range of plasma levels achieved in adequate and well-controlled clinical trials.

The mechanism of these interactions has been evaluated in *in vitro*, *in situ*, and *in vivo* animal models. These studies indicate that ketoconazole or erythromycin co-administration enhances fexofenadine gastrointestinal absorption. In *in vivo* animal studies also suggest that in addition to increasing absorption, ketoconazole decreases fexofenadine hydrochloride gastrointestinal secretion, while erythromycin may also decrease biliary excretion.

Drug Interactions with Antacids

Administration of 120 mg of fexofenadine hydrochloride (2 x 60 mg capsule) within 15 minutes of an aluminum and magnesium containing antacid (Mylac®) decreased fexofenadine AUC by 41% and C_{max} by 43%. ALLEGRA should not be taken closely in time with aluminum and magnesium containing antacids.

Carcinogenesis, Mutagenesis, Impairment of Fertility

The carcinogenic potential and reproductive toxicity of fexofenadine hydrochloride were assessed using terfenadine studies with adequate fexofenadine hydrochloride exposure (based on plasma area-under-the-concentration vs. time [AUC] values). No evidence of carcinogenicity was observed in an 18-month study in mice and in a 24-month study in rats at oral doses up to 150 mg/kg of terfenadine (which led to fexofenadine exposures that were respectively approximately 3 and 5 times the exposure from the maximum recommended daily oral dose of fexofenadine hydrochloride in adults and children). In *in vitro* (Bacterial Reverse Mutation, CHO/HGPRT Forward Mutation, and Rat Lymphocyte Chromosomal Aberration assays) and *in vivo* (Mouse Bone Marrow Micronucleus assay) tests, fexofenadine hydrochloride revealed no evidence of mutagenicity.

In rat fertility studies, dose-related reductions in implants and increases in postimplantation losses were observed at an oral dose of 150 mg/kg of terfenadine (which led to fexofenadine hydrochloride exposures that were approximately 3 times the exposure of the maximum recommended daily oral dose of fexofenadine hydrochloride in adults).

Pregnancy

Teratogenic Effects: Category C. There was no evidence of teratogenicity in rats or rabbits at oral doses of terfenadine up to 300 mg/kg (which led to fexofenadine exposures that were approximately 4 and 31 times, respectively, the exposure from the maximum recommended daily oral dose of fexofenadine in adults).

There are no adequate and well controlled studies in pregnant women. Fexofenadine should be used during pregnancy only if the potential benefit justifies the potential risk to the fetus.

Nonteratogenic Effects. Dose-related decreases in pup weight gain and survival were observed in rats exposed to an oral dose of 150 mg/kg of terfenadine (approximately 3 times the maximum recommended daily oral dose of fexofenadine hydrochloride in adults based on comparison of fexofenadine hydrochloride AUCs).

Nursing Mothers

There are no adequate and well-controlled studies in women during lactation. Because many drugs are excreted in human milk, caution should be exercised when fexofenadine hydrochloride is administered to a nursing woman.

Pediatric Use

The recommended dose in patients 6 to 11 years of age is based on cross-study comparison of the pharmacokinetics of ALLEGRA in adults and pediatric patients and on the safety profile of fexofenadine hydrochloride in both adult and pediatric patients at doses equal to or higher than the recommended doses.

The safety of ALLEGRA tablets at a dose of 30 mg twice daily has been demonstrated in 438 pediatric patients 6 to 11 years of age in two placebo-controlled 2-week seasonal allergic rhinitis trials. The safety of ALLEGRA for the treatment of chronic idiopathic urticaria in patients 6 to 11 years of age is based on cross-study comparison of the pharmacokinetics of ALLEGRA in adult and pediatric patients and on the safety profile of fexofenadine in both adult and pediatric patients at doses equal to or higher than the recommended dose. The effectiveness of ALLEGRA for the treatment of seasonal allergic rhinitis in patients 6 to 11 years of age was demonstrated in one trial (n=411) in which ALLEGRA tablets 30 mg twice daily significantly reduced total symptom scores compared to placebo, along with extrapolation of demonstrated efficacy in patients ages 12 years and above, and the pharmacokinetic comparisons in adults and children. The effectiveness of ALLEGRA for the treatment of chronic idiopathic urticaria in patients 6 to 11 years of age is based on an extrapolation of the demonstrated efficacy of ALLEGRA in adults with this condition and the likelihood that the disease course, pathophysiology and the drug's effect are substantially similar in children to that of adult patients.

The safety and effectiveness of ALLEGRA in pediatric patients under 6 years of age have not been established.

Geriatric Use

Clinical studies of ALLEGRA tablets and capsules did not include sufficient numbers of subjects aged 65 years and over to determine whether this population responds differently from younger patients. Other reported clinical experience has not identified differences in responses between the geriatric and younger patients. This drug is known to be substantially excreted by the kidney, and the risk of toxic reactions to this drug may be greater in patients with impaired renal function. Because elderly patients are more likely to have decreased renal function, care should be taken in dose selection, and may be useful to monitor renal function. (See CLINICAL PHARMACOLOGY.)

ADVERSE REACTIONS

Seasonal Allergic Rhinitis

Adults. In placebo-controlled seasonal allergic rhinitis clinical trials in patients 12 years of age and older, which included 2461 patients receiving fexofenadine hydrochloride

capsules at doses of 20 mg to 240 mg twice daily, adverse events were similar in fexofenadine hydrochloride and placebo-treated patients. All adverse events that were reported by greater than 1% of patients who received the recommended daily dose of fexofenadine hydrochloride (60 mg capsules twice daily), and that were more common with fexofenadine hydrochloride than placebo, are listed in Table 1.

In a placebo-controlled clinical study in the United States, which included 570 patients aged 12 years and older receiving fexofenadine hydrochloride tablets at doses of 120 or 180 mg once daily, adverse events were similar in fexofenadine hydrochloride and placebo-treated patients. Table 1 also lists adverse experiences that were reported by greater than 2% of patients treated with fexofenadine hydrochloride tablets at doses of 180 mg once daily and that were more common with fexofenadine hydrochloride than placebo.

Table 1
Adverse experiences in patients ages 12 years and older reported in placebo-controlled seasonal allergic rhinitis clinical trials in the United States
Twice daily dosing with fexofenadine capsules at rates of greater than 1%

Adverse experience	Fexofenadine 60 mg Twice Daily (n=679)	Placebo Twice Daily (n=671)
Viral Infection (cold, flu)	2.5%	1.5%
Nausea	1.6%	1.5%
Dysmenorrhea	1.5%	0.3%
Crowsiness	1.3%	0.9%
Dyspepsia	1.3%	0.6%
Fatigue	1.3%	0.9%

Table 2
Once daily dosing with fexofenadine hydrochloride tablets at rates of greater than 2%

Adverse experience	Fexofenadine 180 mg once daily (n=283)	Placebo (n=283)
Headache	10.6%	7.5%
Upper Respiratory Tract Infection	3.2%	3.1%
Back Pain	2.8%	1.4%

The frequency and magnitude of laboratory abnormalities were similar in fexofenadine hydrochloride and placebo-treated patients.

Pediatric. Table 2 lists adverse experiences in patients aged 6 to 11 years of age which were reported by greater than 2% of patients treated with fexofenadine hydrochloride tablets at a dose of 30 mg twice daily in placebo-controlled seasonal allergic rhinitis studies in the United States and Canada that were more common with fexofenadine hydrochloride than placebo.

Table 2
Adverse experiences reported in placebo-controlled seasonal allergic rhinitis studies in pediatric patients ages 6 to 11 in the United States and Canada at rates of greater than 2%

Adverse experience	Fexofenadine 30 mg twice daily (n=209)	Placebo (n=229)
Headache	7.2%	6.6%
Accidental Injury	2.9%	1.3%
Coughing	3.8%	1.3%
Fever	2.4%	0.9%
Pain	2.4%	0.4%
Otitis Media	2.4%	0.0%
Upper Respiratory Tract Infection	4.3%	1.7%

Chronic Idiopathic Urticaria
Adverse events reported by patients 12 years of age and older in placebo-controlled chronic idiopathic urticaria studies were similar to those reported in placebo-controlled seasonal allergic rhinitis studies. In placebo-controlled chronic idiopathic urticaria clinical trials, which included 726 patients 12 years of age and older receiving fexofenadine hydrochloride tablets at doses of 20 to 240 mg twice daily, adverse events were similar in fexofenadine hydrochloride and placebo-treated patients. Table 3 lists adverse experiences in patients aged 12 years and older which were reported by greater than 2% of patients treated with fexofenadine hydrochloride 60 mg tablets twice daily in controlled clinical studies in the United States and Canada and that were more common with fexofenadine hydrochloride than placebo. The safety of fexofenadine hydrochloride in the treatment of chronic idiopathic urticaria in pediatric patients 6 to 11 years of age is based on the safety profile of fexofenadine hydrochloride in adults and adolescent patients at doses equal to or higher than the recommended dose (see Pediatric Use).

Table 3
Adverse experiences reported in patients 12 years and older in placebo-controlled chronic idiopathic urticaria studies in the United States and Canada at rates of greater than 2%

Adverse experience	Fexofenadine 60 mg twice daily (n=186)	Placebo (n=178)
Back Pain	2.2%	1.1%
Sinusitis	2.2%	1.1%
Dizziness	2.2%	0.6%
Drowsiness	2.2%	0.0%

Events that have been reported during controlled clinical trials involving seasonal allergic rhinitis and chronic idiopathic urticaria patients with incidences less than 1% and similar to placebo and have been rarely reported during postmarketing surveillance include: insomnia, nervousness, and sleep disorders or parosmia. In rare cases, rash, urticaria, pruritus and hypersensitivity reactions with manifestations such as angioedema, chest tightness, dyspnea, flushing and systemic anaphylaxis have been reported.

OVERDOSAGE

Reports of fexofenadine hydrochloride overdose have been infrequent and contain limited information. However, dizziness, drowsiness, and dry mouth have been reported. Single doses of fexofenadine hydrochloride up to 800 mg (six normal volunteers at this dose level), and doses up to 690 mg twice daily for 1 month (three normal volunteers at this dose level) or 240 mg once daily for 1 year (234 normal volunteers at this dose level) were administered without the development of clinically significant adverse events as compared to placebo.

In the event of overdose, consider standard measures to remove any unabsorbed drug. Symptomatic and supportive treatment is recommended. Hemodialysis did not effectively remove fexofenadine hydrochloride from blood (1.7% removed) following terfenadine administration. No deaths occurred at oral doses of fexofenadine hydrochloride up to 5000 mg/kg in mice (110 times the maximum recommended daily oral dose in adults and 200 times the maximum recommended daily oral dose in children based on mg/m²) and up to 5000 mg/kg in rats (230 times the maximum recommended daily oral dose in adults and 400 times the maximum recommended daily oral dose in children based on mg/m²). Additionally, no clinical signs of toxicity or gross pathological findings were observed. In dogs, no evidence of toxicity was observed at oral doses up to 2000 mg/kg (300 times the maximum recommended daily oral dose in adults and 530 times the maximum recommended daily oral dose in children based on mg/m²).

Prescribing Information as of November 2000

Aventis Pharmaceuticals Inc.

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US Patents 4,254,129; 5,375,693; 5,578,616

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BOOKS

Please Turn to Chapter Two

IF YOU KNOW SOMEONE who is midway through her third reading of "She's Come Undone" since Oprah announced the end of her book club, please hand her this NEWSWEEK and tell her that everything's going to be all right. Starting in June, NBC's "Today" show will launch its own club. Don't worry, Al Roker and Willard Scott aren't collaborating on the selections. Each month the show will invite a best-selling author to choose a book—fiction or non-fiction—written by an undiscovered writer. The following month the now-very-well-discovered scribe will come on "Today" for an intimate chat with Katie and Matt and the 6 million-plus audience. Despite O's contention that she'd exhausted the supply of worthwhile reads (to be fair, she said it was "harder and harder" to find stories she was "absolutely



WORDSMITH: 'Today's' club will be for a broader audience

compelled to share"), "Today" believes there is still one or two works left to discuss. "Oprah really narrowed it down to fiction that appealed to women," says Andrea Smith, the show's literary editor. "This is going to be much more broad. It's limitless." The mechanics of how

"Today" will push the books in stores—like whether they'll get a sticker treatment—are still being finessed. So are the authors who'll make the picks. Note to producers: if you'd like to start this thing off right, see what Jonathan Franzen's up to.

BRET BEGUN

PREGNANCY Dining In

FORGET MORNING SICKNESS: one of the most common pregnancy symptoms is paranoia. "Expectant mothers worry—about everything," says Heidi Murkoff, coauthor of "What to Expect When You're Expecting," the pre-birth bible that's sold 10 million copies since 1984. Now, a revised third edition addresses new fears, from cell phones (safe) to sushi (unsafe) to teeth whiteners (who knows? but better yellow than sorry). And the book's most controversial chapter—its regimented diet—has gone the way of the forceps. "Look, I admit the first edition was a bit whole-wheatier than thou," Murkoff says. "But you still have to eat well. There's a captive diner in your uterine café."

KATHERINE STROUP



PROTESTS World Music

IT'S NOT EASY BEING A protester these days. One must contend with an apathetic public, pesky riot police and, worst of all, a total lack of social-minded music (Jakob Dylan is no Bob Dylan). Yet those who descend upon the World Bank's annual spring meeting in Washington, D.C., this week to decry Third World debt and corporate globalization may be whistling a new tune, or two. The soundtrack from the documentary "Life + Debt," a film that illuminates how high-interest loans and lopsided trade practices have hurt the local Jamaican



economy, is one of the most compelling reggae compilations of late. The CD features Sizzla, Buju Banton and Luciano toasting on everything from the diminishing role of the local farmer to the country's increasing dependency on outside goods. It also has classics by godfathers of the disenfranchised, Bob Marley and Peter Tosh. "It wasn't about us picking the songs, but more about the songs picking us," says Ziggy Marley, who coproduced the record on his family's Tuff Gong label. "They're all

talkin' 'bout the same thing—equality. All we had to do was listen." Album proceeds go to relieving poverty in debt-heavy Third World regions.

LORRAINE ALI

WELFARE SIGNS OF HOPE

THE 1996 federal welfare-reform program has been a big success in reducing the rolls—today about 2 million single mothers are on aid, down from 5 million in 1994. But how have young kids fared under workfare? A new study of more than 900 former welfare families in three states by researchers at Berkeley, Columbia, Stanford and Yale finds no simple answers. While moms' income levels are higher and they feel "better off," most still live below the poverty line and are cutting back on food to save money. Researchers report no increase in good parenting practices (like reading aloud), with workfare moms spending less time with young children than they did when on welfare. One bright spot: as more poor kids enter day care, their cognitive skills and school readiness improve. Researchers say the study signals changes that Congress should consider in welfare reform this year, including more funding for high-quality day care and more publicity about tax-credit and food programs that would bolster families' standards of living.

REFORM: What works?



PAT WINGERT

CLOCKWISE FROM BOTTOM LEFT: PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID B. BERNHEIT; PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD; PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD; PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD



DESIGN

Chairs on the Edge: How to Sit in Style

WHEN A CHAIR IS JUST RIGHT—balancing comfort, beauty and durability—it can become an icon. But first a designer needs a manufacturer. Last week's Milan Furniture Fair, where the design world goes to see the latest furnishings, featured the SaloneSatellite, a space

for young designers to display their visions to prospective makers. "The complexity of the design of a chair allows you to establish a reputation as a designer," says Granger Moorehead, of Moorehead & Moorehead, a New York City design group. These chairs may be coming soon to a living room near you. **SUSANNAH MEADOWS**



LOUNGE ACTS: (Clockwise from top center) Charles O. Job's love-seat interpretation, Or-Bit's rocking chair, UMAMY's 'Till we meet again ...' and Serge Vizcaino's 'cubusmobile'

FAST CHAT STARCK

Philippe Starck was in Milan to show off 50 everyday products he'd designed for Target stores. The exuberant Frenchman took time out from making the world a better-looking place to talk with Susannah Meadows.

MEADOWS: Isn't it a little weird for crowds to swoon over a designer?

STARCK: They are stupid enough to say "he is a genius" when there are real geniuses in physics, astronomy, etc.



These low-price products allow everybody access to good design. Aren't they also loaded with status? I don't believe in class. This is not class elevation. It is intelligence elevation.

When does a design become a piece of art? I am not interested when a chair becomes a piece of art. That is something ridiculous. When it helps to make a better life, that is the duty of the chair.

Can an object really make life better?

A nice object will never change the life of somebody, but it helps. Everything around us has an influence on our subconscious. It will not bring back the husband, but it can send a sign of intelligence and poetry and humor.



Humor in my toothbrush? Humor is the most beautiful symptom of human intelligence. In French it's easy to remember the two most important things: humour and amour.

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When Michael Rausch was just one year old, his mom, Julie, was diagnosed with a malignant brain tumor. The news devastated his father, Bill, and severely affected the concrete business he and Julie ran together. Sadly, the company failed shortly before Julie's death. But, that's not where Michael's story ends. Life insurance meant Bill was able to pay off his creditors, restart the business and support his family. Today, Bill has remarried and has rebuilt a stable, loving family. And Michael and his brother have a new stepsister and all the security and love that Julie wanted for them.

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Michael Rausch

Even in the Worst of Times, Life Goes On

I came to Israel to understand the region's conflict. What I'm learning is how to endure despite fear.

By KEN LEE

WAITING FOR THE BUS in Jerusalem is never boring. I live a few miles south of the old-city walls, and venture downtown at least three times a week to do errands or meet friends. Often, as I stand shoulder to shoulder with ultraorthodox Jews, soldiers with M-16 assault rifles slung across their backs, and the city's secular, image-conscious Yuppies, a sobering thought comes to mind: this would be a perfect place to set off a bomb.

If a bus stop becomes too crowded, the overly cautious (like me) will opt to stand a good 30 feet away. Before boarding, everyone eyes each other and his carry-ons discreetly. Anyone who looks Arab is suspect. Crudely defined, that means having a dark complexion, thick eyebrows and coarse facial hair. If someone fitting this description is already seated or walks on, some passengers will simply get off.

Living under terrorist threat, you pick things up fast. I've been here just over a month as a volunteer in a communal settlement, or kibbutz. I work in the kitchen six days a week, seven hours a day, feeding the 300 Israeli men, women and children who live here. In exchange, I get free room and board—a perk I'd heard about for years among the global backpacker set.

But lately, journalists have outnumbered travelers in this country. "You're the only tourist in Israel," a cashier deadpans as I exchange my U.S. dollars. This sort of comment is generally followed by an incredulous "Why did you choose to visit now?" I usually have to explain that I'm not

Jewish, I'm a Korean-American trying to make sense of the region. As news coverage of the violence intensified earlier this year, so did my interest. I wanted not only to understand the centuries-old discord between Arabs and Jews—but to live it.

A handful of the workers on the kibbutz are Arab, but here they are recognized by name, not creed. "This is what they don't show you on CNN," jokes Idan, a Jew by

ever been awakened by car alarms in the sleepy suburb where I grew up. Bethlehem, a few miles to the south, has been a war zone since the Israeli military pushed deep into the West Bank. But based on the relaxed expressions of the families in the dining hall at mealtimes, you wouldn't know anything was amiss. When I first got here I found it vexing how Israelis press on with life—sitting in cafés and shopping in open-air markets during suicide blitzkriegs. I realize now that their psychological defense mechanisms are at peak performance. "We can't feel everyone's pain because there's too much of it going around," explains Hadar, the kibbutz nurse.

Despite a recent U.S. State Department warning urging American travelers to leave Jerusalem (and the hand-wringing e-mails I've received from my family:

"Keep your head down when the shooting starts," my brother warns), I plan on completing my two-month stay. Leaving now seems alarmist when few Jerusalemites are in a state of panic. If they do reach that

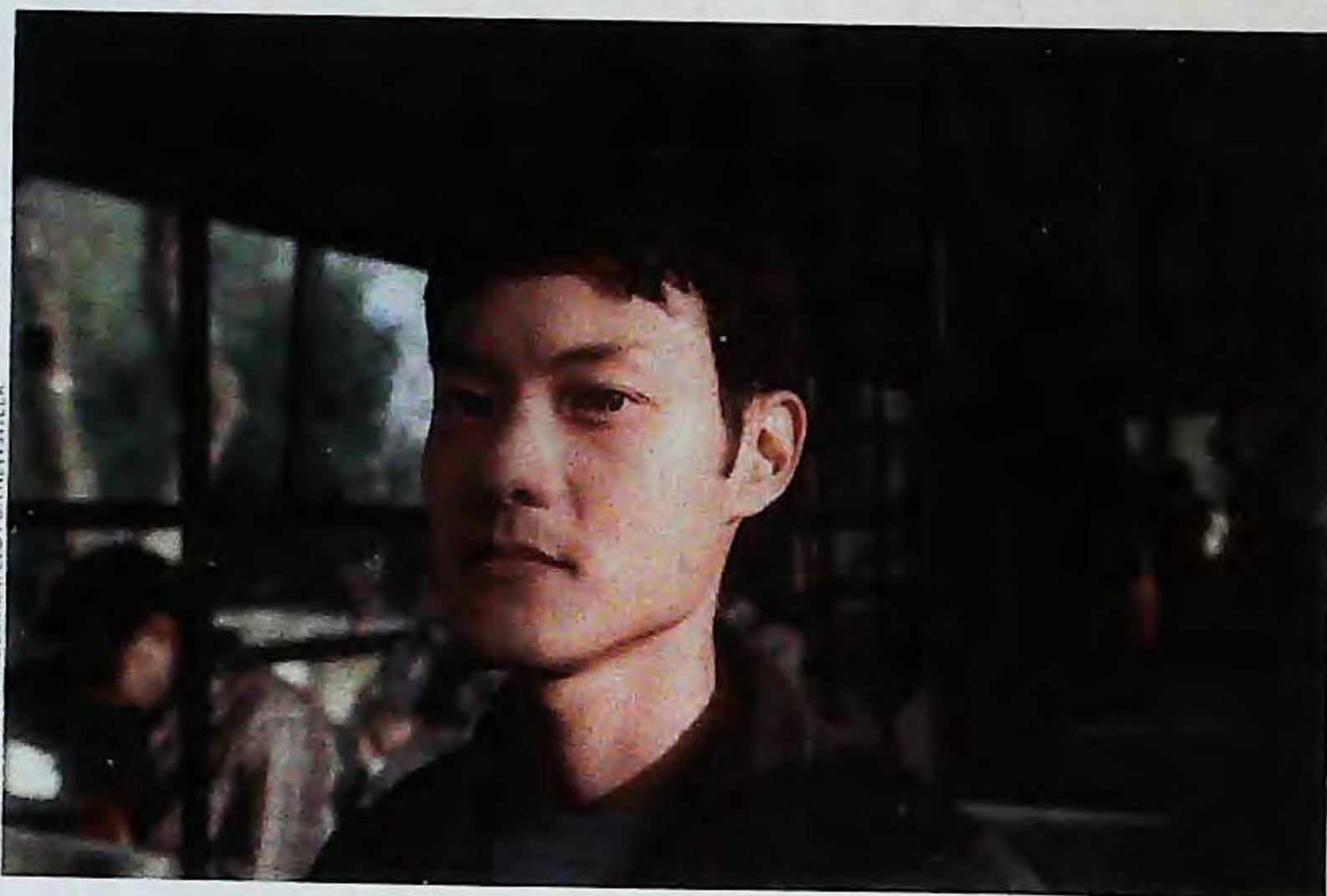
point, I'll book the first flight home. For now, since the kibbutz is relatively secluded from the rest of the city, there's a palpable air of calm and security within the grounds. Oftentimes I forget that I'm in Israel at all.

Outside, of course, is a different matter: I've had plenty of scares. On a recent Saturday night, another Jerusalem café was ravaged by a suicide bomber while I was en route home on the No. 7 bus after strolling around downtown. Sirens wailed and soldiers appeared out of nowhere to conduct vehicle-to-vehicle searches for accomplices. As the bus

neared Hebron Road, two soldiers with rifles drawn motioned for the driver to stop. I sat numbly as the pair stormed through the steel double doors, their muzzles aimed precariously forward. Completing their sweep, they darted out the rear side door.

I don't think the young woman sitting across from me ever stopped chatting on her cherry red Nokia. For her and for thousands of others in the most politically volatile capital in the world, it was just another night. As I peered out the window, I realized that soon I would feel the same way.

LEE is a freelance writer and editor.



When I first got here I found it vexing how Israelis press on—sitting in cafés and shopping in open-air markets during suicide blitzkriegs

birth, who pals around with Omar, a Muslim, in the kitchen.

Just east of here is the village where Omar lives. Last month a bomb exploded in the courtyard of the all-Arab school his brothers attend. Luckily, no one was seriously hurt. Three times this month, Omar has been subjected to a military roadblock search on the street outside the kibbutz. He didn't seem perturbed at having to exit his car under gunpoint, and lift up his shirt to prove he wasn't wired with a bomb.

At night occasional bursts of automatic-gun fire and the thud of a tank shell echo in the distance. It was jarring at first; I'd only



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See Bill Run for History

Readers sound off on Clinton, the Mideast, racial division, college admissions and the Queen Mum

AT FIRST I WAS AMAZED THAT YOU would choose to place Bill Clinton on your April 8 cover ("Clinton Now," CLINTON'S NEW LIFE). World War III could easily be around the corner, but NEWSWEEK leads with yet another Clinton apology. But wait! I see your subtlety. You sly devils! When one actually stops and thinks about the root causes of the current crisis in the Middle East, one realizes that your leading article is about one of the public figures whose lack of leadership must bear a great deal of the responsibility for the currently escalating tragedy.

F. T. MCGONNELL
ALEXANDRIA, VA.

MY INITIAL REACTION TO YOUR CLINTON cover story was annoyance. My second reaction was to smile broadly and simply enjoy the fact that Bill Clinton is no longer president of the United States.

MEGAN SHAPIRO
PURCHASE, N.Y.

JONATHAN ALTER'S INTERVIEW WITH former president Bill Clinton was a welcome view into the current activities of a man who influenced so many lives. During his presidency, Clinton succumbed to the pressures and opportunities available to people in power. It was a continual disappointment that the news media chose to focus on his extramarital activities or personal financial dealings. The spotlight should have been on the booming economy or the movement of many children and elderly people out of poverty. Bill Clinton has emerged from the right-wing-supported witch hunts that were Whitewater and the Monica Lewinsky investigation with his commitment to the American people intact. Having grown up in poverty, I was a young adult during the Clinton administration and received loans and grants that allowed me to go to college. My husband and I are now able to provide a financially secure middle-class upbringing for our children. My determination was inspired by President and Hillary Rodham Clinton's leadership and focus on making the United States a better place for everyone.

AMY JO ELLEFSON
OMAHA, NEB.



YOUR ARTICLE ON BILL CLINTON MADE me wish he were still in the White House; if he were, I am convinced that we would not be in such a mess in the Middle East. His incredible popularity around the world was a reflection of America's fair and balanced approach to foreign policy and of his passionate desire to mediate at the risk of damaging his personal prestige. Unfortunately, our current policy—characterized by refusing to get involved in foreign affairs until there is a true crisis, and exhibiting superpower arrogance—has led to increasing hatred for our country. I commend Jonathan Alter, always a fair journalist, for an admirable job of presenting a balanced article on Clinton. It is satisfying to know that the former president is finally able to take care of his family, much to the chagrin of his right-wing detractors.

HARESH S. SATIANI
BREA, CALIF.

IN SAYING THE MARC RICH PARDON damaged his reputation, Bill Clinton has finally found his legacy. It is one of self-obsession and self-delusion.

KEVIN WILLMANN
SAN RAFAEL, CALIF.

IT IS NICE TO READ THAT PRESIDENT Clinton has found some comfort in his postpresidential life. However, as a 24-

year-old woman, I am dismayed by his lack of humility about the disturbing acts he committed as our 42d president. Throughout my high-school and college years our nation had to suffer through one scandal after another, with little regard by their perpetrator for the damage they inflicted on the honor and respect U.S. presidents once deserved. For some, these scandals were simply another subject for late-night humor, but for many like me they were a direct assault on the integrity of the office of the presidency. I wish Clinton the best in his retirement years, but I am relieved that our current president reveres the presidency more than his own ego.

KELLY DOANE
BEVERLY, MASS.

I REMEMBER THE MANTRA I CONTINUALLY chanted as a college student in the late '70s and early '80s as my friends bemoaned what they perceived as the ineffectiveness of Jimmy Carter, the man I proudly voted for in my very first presidential election. The mantra: someday it will become dazzlingly apparent that the man was an exceptional president. I find myself again chanting the same mantra, but with a different name: Bill Clinton. And I believe that I will be vindicated this time too.

JEAN TOBIAS
KENOSHA, WIS.

Mideast 'Deathlock'

AMERICAN CITIZENS BEAR IMMEDIATE responsibility for American policies regarding the settlement of Israeli citizens on Palestinian land that fell under Israeli control in 1967. There will be no peace if settlements are allowed to remain in the West Bank and Gaza. Israel rightly demands from Palestinians a halt to the killing of innocents, but requires this before any negotiation about boundaries and settlements. Palestinians apparently demand first from Israel a clear path to complete control over contiguous land where their families can live without the daily indignities that have tempted a generation of children to consider suicide as shahidin [martyrs]. While Americans watch the consequence of this deathlock, settlements persist and expand, largely ignored by American leaders and all but unseen through the American television porthole. The United States should actively work to persuade Israel to halt and dismantle settlements, instead of avoiding responsibility by leaving the issue to unscheduled negotiations. We should do so for the sake of our desire for a secure Israel, and because the moral, legal and practical arguments

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against settlements are decisive. Americans who truly desire an end to this conflict must acknowledge that every footstep taken by an Israeli settler within the emerging boundaries of Palestine spins the wheel of revenge.

ROBERT TRENARY
MENDON, MICH.

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION HAS blown it badly in the Middle East ("He Knows It, He Feels It," INTERNATIONAL, April 8). The situation has certainly not improved since the president boldly declared that "enough is enough" and decided to send Colin Powell over there to save the day. A primary focus of the Bush presidential campaign was his ability to "bring people together." Generously assuming that he actually has the wherewithal to negotiate peace with the likes of Sharon and Arafat in the first place, why hasn't he worked his famed magic on them? When and where has Bush exhibited this talent at all since his election? The September 11 tragedy? Sadly, the terrorists themselves get the credit for uniting Americans in that instance, and the Bush administration was lucky to be at the right place at the right time to gain an issue on which to focus its retrograde, unilateralist domestic and foreign policies. I agree with the president: enough is enough. I'm looking forward to the 2004 election, and I'm hopeful that the Supreme Court will stay out of it this time.

DAVID SHRADER
RICHLAND, WASH.

National Pride, Racial Divide?

I WHOLEHEARTEDLY AGREE WITH THE viewpoint expressed by Joseph C. Phillips in his April 8 MY TURN column ("Why Don't We Want What We Fought For?"). As an African-American, I, too, have friends who have said that "America got what it deserved on September 11." That attitude shocked and outraged me. Yes, America has slighted, discriminated against and generally treated African-Americans abominably. Still, this is my country. My ancestors gave their lifeblood here in the fight for freedom and equality for me. Because of that, I am proud to call myself an American. I have traveled all over the world, and I can tell you from firsthand experience that simply being Americans entitles us to an enviable way of life that few in the world can lay claim to. And whether we like to admit it or not, African-Americans benefit from this way of life along with every other American. When my friends and I were in high school, we dissed our alma mater at every opportunity, but if someone else from

a different school did the same, we were ready to throw down our books and hold court! That's the way I feel about the United States of America; when our nation is attacked from the outside, we should *all* rally to its defense.

MAXINE LATHAN
HOMEWOOD, ILL.

JOSEPH PHILLIPS DESERVES A ROUND OF applause for standing up for his convictions. He will get a lot of flak from his peers, but he is fundamentally right. Grudges may die hard, but die they must, because the alternative is civil unrest. My 4-year-old Japanese-Mexican-Italian-Polish daughter

MAIL CALL

The View From The Ex-Presidency

Emotions about Bill Clinton still run high. We heard from more than 400 readers on our April 8 cover story; most had no love for the former POTUS. One called him "the poster child for moral relativism"; another, "the most malfasant politico we have ever had in the White House." Comparing Clinton with the two President Bushes, a reader declared: "They have more character in their little fingers than Clinton has in his whole body." But another dubbed Bill "the meat between two slices of white bread." And a woman from Texas asked, "Is it any wonder we still find him interesting?"

is learning that she is an American first and foremost, and sings "It's a Grand Old Flag" at the top of her lungs!

JANE RAMIREZ
SALINAS, CALIF.

AS AN AFRICAN-AMERICAN WHO LIVES in New York, I'm disturbed that some African-Americans would use the terrorist attacks on September 11 as an opportunity to air their grievances against our country. At the same time I absolutely defend their right to do so. Voicing discontent is as American as it gets. We fought for the right not only to walk and sit where we wanted, but also to think and speak freely. This includes unpatriotic speech. Racism is not just "ugly history"; race and prejudice still

have not been adequately addressed in this country, and that's at the root of much of the current anti-American sentiment Phillips perceives in the African-American community. Can he not see how accusations of racial profiling of Arab-Americans struck a nerve for African-Americans? Has he forgotten how much some bigots like to drape themselves in the American flag? The varied African-American reaction to fierce patriotism is very understandable and very American.

MELODY COOPER
HASTINGS-ON-HUDSON, N.Y.

I APPLAUD JOSEPH PHILLIPS. HE IS right that "America is by no means a paragon, but ... is still the best thing going." As a student of African-American history, I understand that the road to success for blacks in America is burdened with obstacles. I appreciate the difficulties of social mobility. But there are means to mitigate those obstacles within the confines of our political system. As a white male, I must confront the shame and embarrassment of my forefathers' transgressions. This alone, however, does not indemnify African-Americans from equal responsibility in the healing process. In the wake of September 11, now seems a most appropriate time to work together to highlight our commonalities as a culture, a people and a country.

MICHAEL GRAYSON
GRIFFIN, GA.

The College Crunch

WE'VE ALL SEEN PARENTS AT THE Little League game yelling about a botched play or close call, who forget that it's not *their* game to win or lose. In the new college-application game, those same parents have misapplied their energies at a whole new level ("How to Win the College Game," EDUCATION, April 8). When the time came to apply for college, it was very helpful that I had been involved in extracurricular activities. But the real payoff was finding out who I was through participating in them. The years leading up to college should be important in their own right, but some parents seem intent on making this time one long prerequisite.

JAKE ELO
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

AS A HIGH-SCHOOL SENIOR WHO RECENTLY won the game of college admissions, I appreciated your article. But why the emphasis on Harvard early in the piece? With all respect to Harvard and its alumni, I think your story missed one critical point: not every school is a good fit for every stu-

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dent. As a computer-science major, I would feel completely out of place at a liberal-arts school, no matter how prestigious. Moreover, many lesser-known schools offer great programs in certain fields of specialization. Responsible research, not skillful persuasion by recruiters, should be the definitive factor in any college choice.

AMELIA LACENSKI
BELLEVUE, WASH.

YOUR ARTICLE "HOW TO WIN THE COLLEGE GAME" carries an important unspoken message: that it is a sense of personal responsibility and a love of learning more than almost anything else that will gain a student acceptance to the college of his or her choice. And this begins in preschool, not ninth or 10th grade. The ability to appreciate and value real learning—even in areas students feel certain are not "for them"—is priceless. In truth, whichever college a truly committed student is accepted to will turn out to be "the right school" because he or she will have developed the tools to make it so.

AMANDA UHRY
NEW YORK, N.Y.

Farewell, Queen Mum

BRITAIN'S TRIUMPHANT AND TURBULENT 20th-century history will show that the one constant that allowed the country to remain proud of its monarchical heritage was the Queen Mother ("A Light in the Darkness," IN MEMORIAM, April 8). At crucial times in the survival of both monarchy and country, the Queen Mother was able to hold together the moral and spiritual fiber of England as it first dealt with the abdication of Edward VIII and then stood alone against the Nazi blitz of London. Winston Churchill's famous quote about British airmen who defended England during the Battle of Britain ("Never was so much owed by so many to so few") can also be used to honor and recognize the Queen Mother's contribution to the England she dearly loved. Queen Elizabeth's crown will sparkle less brightly with the passing of a Queen Mother who was not just a regal persona but also represented an institution with humble pride and decorum.

DAN KOWBELL
TORONTO, CANADA

Noisy But Joyous

YOUR STORY ON ANDREW W.K., AN ARTIST I had just heard of from friends and whose music I downloaded from the Internet last week, was timely, accurate and nicely done ("Primal Screamer," ARTS &

ENTERTAINMENT, April 8). It's great to see NEWSWEEK giving a nod to its younger audience—30-year-old music lovers who are NEWSWEEK readers like me. Way to scoop the music-industry rags!

ERIC GOERES
NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Spy Who Says He's Sorry

IN YOUR APRIL 8 ISSUE, FORMER PRESIDENT Clinton characterizes our client Jonathan Pollard as "an unrepentant spy." Mr. Pollard admitted his guilt, pleaded guilty to the crime of conspiracy to commit espionage and cooperated fully with the U.S. government during a 15-month investigation. Over many years, while serving a life sentence in prison (he is in his 17th year of incarceration), Mr. Pollard has repeatedly expressed remorse for his actions. In 1996, Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel wrote that, in two face-to-face meetings, Mr. Pollard "impressed me with his deep feelings of remorse." The myth of Mr. Pollard's lack of remorse has been perpetuated by those who oppose any effort to secure justice for him. Unfortunately, it appears that these adversaries had President Clinton's ear.

ELIOT LAUER
JACQUES SEMMELMAN
Attorneys at Law
Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle LLP
NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Islamic Institute Responds

YOUR APRIL 1 ARTICLE "A TROUBLING Money Trail" (PERISCOPE) appears to raise questions about the Islamic Institute, because a donor from two years ago is now coming under government investigation. The article doesn't explain that when the donation was made, the donor was under no suspicion whatsoever. The Islamic Institute is one of America's strongest voices for democracy in the Muslim world. The institute encourages the participation of Muslim Americans in the political process, and also works to spread democratic ideals in the Muslim world. NEWSWEEK makes brief mention of a \$200,000 donation from Qatar; that donation was part of a budget granted by the University of Qatar and the Qatari Chamber of Commerce to partially cover the costs of organizing a conference on Free Markets and Democracy in that country in 2001. A second such conference occurred earlier this month, drew four members of Congress and was cosponsored by the Heritage Foundation, the International Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute.

KHALED SAFFURI
Chairman, Islamic Institute
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Newsweek

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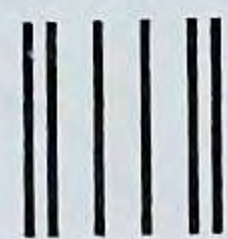
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AMANDA CHRI
NEW YORK, N.Y.

Farewell, Queen Mum

BRITAIN'S TRIUMPHANT AND TURBU-
lent 20th-century history will show that
the one constant that allowed the country
to remain proud of its monarchical heri-
tage was the Queen Mother ("A Light in
the Darkness," IN MEMORIAM, April 8).
At crucial times in the survival of both
monarchy and country, the Queen Mother
was able to hold together the moral and
spiritual fiber of England as it first dealt
with the abdication of Edward VIII and
then stood alone against the Nazi blitz
of London. Winston Churchill's famous
quote about British airmen who defend-
ed England during the Battle of Britain
("Never was so much owed by so many to
so few") can also be used to honor and re-
cognize the Queen Mother's contribution to
the England she dearly loved. Queen Eliz-
abeth's crown will sparkle less brightly
with the passing of a Queen Mother who
was not just a regal persona but also repre-
sented an institution with humble pride
and decorum.

DAN KOWBELL
TORONTO, CANADA

Noisy But Joyous

YOUR STORY ON ANDREW W.K., AN ART-
ist I had just heard of from friends and
whose music I downloaded from the Inter-
net last week, was timely, accurate and
nicely done ("Primal Screamer," ARTS &

adversaries had President Clinton's ear.

ELIOT LAUER
JACQUES SEMMELMAN
Attorneys at Law
Curtis, Maller-Prevost, Colt & Mosle LLP
NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Islamic Institute Responds

YOUR APRIL 1 ARTICLE "A TROUBLING
Money Trail" (PERISCOPE) appears to
raise questions about the Islamic Institute,
because a donor from two years ago is now
coming under government investigation.
The article doesn't explain that when the
donation was made, the donor was under
no suspicion whatsoever. The Islamic In-
stitute is one of America's strongest voices
for democracy in the Muslim world. The
institute encourages the participation of
Muslim Americans in the political process,
and also works to spread democratic ideals
in the Muslim world. NEWSWEEK makes
brief mention of a \$200,000 donation
from Qatar; that donation was part of a
budget granted by the University of Qatar
and the Qatari Chamber of Commerce to
partially cover the costs of organizing a
conference on Free Markets and Democra-
cy in that country in 2001. A second such
conference occurred earlier this month,
drew four members of Congress and was
cosponsored by the Heritage Foundation,
the International Republican Institute and
the National Democratic Institute.

KHALED SAFFURI
Chairman, Islamic Institute
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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Congested?

A cold?

Or is it really nasal allergies?



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And it's the only prescription nasal allergy spray with moisturizing glycerin. Ask your doctor about NASONEX®.

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BRIEF SUMMARY (For full Prescribing Information, see package insert.)
INDICATIONS AND USAGE Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg is indicated for the treatment of the nasal symptoms of seasonal allergic and perennial allergic rhinitis, in adults and pediatric patients 3 years of age and older. Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg is indicated for the prophylaxis of the nasal symptoms of seasonal allergic rhinitis in adult and adolescent patients 12 years and older. In patients with a known seasonal allergen that precipitates nasal symptoms of seasonal allergic rhinitis, initiation of prophylaxis with Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg is recommended 2 to 4 weeks prior to the anticipated start of the pollen season. Safety and effectiveness of Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg in pediatric patients less than 3 years of age have not been established.
CONTRAINDICATIONS Hypersensitivity to any of the ingredients of this preparation contraindicates its use.
WARNINGS The replacement of a systemic corticosteroid with a topical corticosteroid can be accompanied by signs of adrenal insufficiency and, in addition, some patients may experience symptoms of withdrawal, i.e., joint and/or muscular pain, lassitude, and depression. Careful attention must be given when patients previously treated for prolonged periods with systemic corticosteroids are transferred to topical corticosteroids, with careful monitoring for acute adrenal insufficiency in response to stress. This is particularly important in those patients who have associated asthma or other clinical conditions where too rapid a decrease in systemic corticosteroid dosing may cause a severe exacerbation of their symptoms.

If recommended doses of intranasal corticosteroids are exceeded or if individuals are particularly sensitive or predisposed by virtue of recent systemic steroid therapy, symptoms of hypercorticism may occur, including very rare cases of menstrual irregularities, acneiform lesions, and cushingoid features. If such changes occur, topical corticosteroids should be discontinued slowly, consistent with accepted procedures for discontinuing oral steroid therapy.

Persons who are on drugs which suppress the immune system are more susceptible to infections than healthy individuals. Chickenpox and measles, for example, can have a more serious or even fatal course in nonimmune children or adults on corticosteroids. In such children or adults who have not had these diseases, particular care should be taken to avoid exposure. How the dose, route, and duration of corticosteroid administration affects the risk of developing a disseminated infection is not known. The contribution of the underlying disease and/or prior corticosteroid treatment to the risk is also not known. If exposed to chickenpox, prophylaxis with varicella zoster immune globulin (VZIG) may be indicated. If exposed to measles, prophylaxis with pooled intramuscular immunoglobulin (IG) may be indicated. (See the respective package inserts for complete VZIG and IG prescribing information.) If chickenpox develops, treatment with antiviral agents may be considered.

PRECAUTIONS General: Intranasal corticosteroids may cause a reduction in growth velocity when administered to pediatric patients (see **PRECAUTIONS, Pediatric Use** section). In clinical studies with Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg, the development of localized infections of the nose and pharynx with *Candida albicans* has occurred only rarely. When such an infection develops, use of Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg should be discontinued and appropriate local or systemic therapy instituted, if needed.

Nasal corticosteroids should be used with caution, if at all, in patients with active or quiescent tuberculous infection of the respiratory tract, or in untreated fungal, bacterial, systemic viral infections, or ocular herpes simplex. Rarely, immediate hypersensitivity reactions may occur after the intranasal administration of mometasone furoate monohydrate. Extreme rare instances of wheezing have been reported.

Rare instances of nasal septum perforation and increased intraocular pressure have also been reported following the intranasal application of aerosolized corticosteroids. As with any long-term topical treatment of the nasal cavity, patients using Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg over several months or longer should be examined periodically for possible changes in the nasal mucosa.

Because of the inhibitory effect of corticosteroids on wound healing, patients who have experienced recent nasal septum ulcers, nasal surgery, or nasal trauma should not use a nasal corticosteroid until healing has occurred.

Glaucoma and cataract formation was evaluated in one controlled study of 12 weeks duration and one uncontrolled study of 12 months duration in patients treated with Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg at 200 mcg/day, using intraocular pressure measurements and slit lamp examination. No significant change from baseline was noted in the mean intraocular pressure measurements for the 141 Nasonex-treated patients in the 12-week study, as compared with 141 placebo-treated patients. No individual Nasonex-treated patient was noted to have developed a significant elevation in intraocular pressure or cataracts in this 12-week study. Likewise, no significant change from baseline was noted in the mean intraocular pressure and again, no cataracts were detected in these patients. Nonetheless, nasal and inhaled corticosteroids have been associated with the development of glaucoma and/or cataracts. Therefore, close follow-up is warranted in patients with a change in vision and with a history of glaucoma and/or cataracts.

When nasal corticosteroids are used at excessive doses, systemic corticosteroid effects such as hypercorticism and adrenal suppression may appear. If such changes occur, Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg should be discontinued slowly, consistent with accepted procedures for discontinuing oral steroid therapy.

Information for Patients: Patients being treated with Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg should be given the following information and instructions. This information is intended to aid in the safe and effective use of this medication. It is not a disclosure of all intended or possible adverse effects. Patients should use Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg at regular intervals (once daily) since its effectiveness depends on regular use. Improvement in nasal symptoms of allergic rhinitis has been shown to occur within 11 hours after the first dose based on one single-dose, parallel-group study of patients in an outdoor "park" setting

(park study) and one environmental exposure unit (EEU) study and within 2 days after the first dose in two randomized, double-blind, placebo-controlled, parallel-group seasonal allergic rhinitis studies. Maximum benefit is usually achieved within 1 to 2 weeks after initiation of dosing. Patients should take the medication as directed and should not increase the prescribed dosage by using it more than once a day in an attempt to increase its effectiveness. Patients should contact their physician if symptoms do not improve, or if the condition worsens. To assure proper use of this nasal spray, and to attain maximum benefit, patients should read and follow the accompanying Patient's Instructions for Use carefully.

Persons should be cautioned not to spray Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg into the eyes or directly onto the nasal septum. Persons who are on immunosuppressant doses of corticosteroids should be warned to avoid exposure to chickenpox or measles, and patients should also be advised that if they are exposed, medical advice should be sought without delay.
Carcinogenesis, Mutagenesis, Impairment of Fertility: In a 2-year carcinogenicity study of Sprague Dawley rats, mometasone furoate demonstrated no statistically significant increase of tumors at inhalation doses up to 67 mcg/kg (approximately 3 and 2 times the maximum recommended daily intranasal dose in adults and children, respectively, on a mcg/m³ basis). In a 19-month carcinogenicity study of Swiss CD-1 mice, mometasone furoate demonstrated no statistically significant increase in the incidence of tumors at inhalation doses up to 160 mcg/kg (approximately 4 and 3 times the maximum recommended daily intranasal dose in adults and children, respectively, on a mcg/m³ basis).

At cytotoxic doses, mometasone furoate produced an increase in chromosome aberrations *in vitro* in Chinese hamster ovary-cell cultures in the non-treatment phase, but not in the presence of rat liver S9 fraction. Mometasone furoate was not mutagenic in the mouse-lymphoma assay and the Chinese hamster lung cell (CHL) chromosomal-aberrations assay, an *in vivo* mouse bone-marrow erythrocyte-micronucleus assay, a rat bone-marrow clastogenicity assay, and the mouse male germ-cell clastogenicity assay. Mometasone furoate also did not induce unscheduled DNA synthesis *in vivo* in rat hepatocytes.

In reproductive studies in rats, mometasone furoate did not produce by subcutaneous doses up to 15 mcg/kg (less than the maximum recommended daily intranasal dose in adults on a mcg/m³ basis). However, mometasone furoate caused prolonged gestation, prolonged and difficult labor, reduced offspring survival, and reduced maternal body weight gain at a dose of 15 mcg/kg. In reproductive studies in rats, mometasone furoate did not produce by subcutaneous doses up to 15 mcg/kg (less than the maximum recommended daily intranasal dose in adults on a mcg/m³ basis). However, mometasone furoate caused prolonged gestation, prolonged and difficult labor, reduced offspring survival, and reduced maternal body weight gain at a dose of 15 mcg/kg.

In rabbits, mometasone furoate caused flexed front paws at a topical dermal dose of 150 mcg/kg (approximately 14 times the maximum recommended daily intranasal dose in adults on a mcg/m³ basis).

In rats, mometasone furoate produced umbilical hernia, cleft palate, and delayed ossification at a topical dermal dose of 600 mcg/kg (approximately 30 times the maximum recommended daily intranasal dose in adults on a mcg/m³ basis). At 1200 mcg/kg (approximately 60 times the maximum recommended daily intranasal dose in adults on a mcg/m³ basis), microphthalmia, umbilical hernias, and delayed ossification were observed in rat pups.

In these developmental studies, there were also reductions in maternal body weight gain and effects on fetal growth (lower fetal body weights and/or delayed ossification) in mice (60 and 180 mcg/kg), rabbits (150 mcg/kg), and rats (600 mcg/kg).

In an oral developmental study in rabbits, at 700 mcg/kg, (approximately 70 times the maximum recommended daily intranasal dose in adults on a mcg/m³ basis), increased incidences of resorptions and malformations, including cleft palate and/or head malformations (hydrocephaly or domed head), were observed. Pregnancy failure was observed in most rabbits at 2800 mcg/kg (approximately 270 times the maximum recommended daily intranasal dose in adults on a mcg/m³ basis).

There are no adequate and well-controlled studies in pregnant women. Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg, like other corticosteroids, should be used during pregnancy only if the potential benefits justify the potential risk to the fetus. Experience with oral corticosteroids suggests that rodents are more prone to teratogenic effects from corticosteroids than humans. In addition, because there is a natural increase in corticosteroid production during pregnancy, most women will require a lower exogenous corticosteroid dose and many will not need corticosteroid treatment during pregnancy.

Nonteratogenic Effects: Hypoadrenalism may occur in infants born to women receiving corticosteroids during pregnancy. Such infants should be carefully monitored.
Nursing Mothers: It is not known if mometasone furoate is excreted in human milk. Because other corticosteroids are excreted in human milk, caution should be used when Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg is administered to nursing women.

Pediatric Use: Controlled clinical studies have shown intranasal corticosteroids may cause a reduction in growth velocity in pediatric patients. This effect has been observed in the absence of laboratory evidence of hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal (HPA) axis suppression, suggesting that growth velocity is a more sensitive indicator of systemic corticosteroid exposure in pediatric patients than some commonly used tests of HPA axis function. The long-term effects of this reduction in growth velocity associated with intranasal corticosteroids, including the impact on final adult height, are unknown. The potential for "catch up" growth following discontinuation of treatment with intranasal corticosteroids has not been adequately studied. The growth of pediatric patients receiving intranasal corticosteroids, including Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg should be monitored routinely (e.g., via stadiometry). The potential growth effects of prolonged treatment should be weighed against clinical benefits obtained and the availability of safe and effective noncorticosteroid treatment alternatives. To minimize the systemic effects of intranasal corticosteroids, including Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg, each patient should be titrated to his/her lowest effective dose.

Seven hundred and twenty (720) patients 3 to 11 years of age were treated with mometasone furoate nasal spray, 50 mcg (100 mcg total daily dose) in controlled clinical trials. Safety and effectiveness in children less than 3 years of age have not been established.

A clinical study has been conducted for one year in pediatric patients (ages 3 to 9 years) to assess the effect of Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg (100 mcg total daily dose) on growth velocity. No statistically significant effect on growth velocity was observed for Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg compared to placebo. No evidence of clinically relevant HPA axis suppression was observed following a 30-minute Cosyntropin infusion.

The potential of Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg to cause growth suppression in susceptible patients or when given at higher doses cannot be ruled out.
Geriatric Use: A total of 203 patients above 64 years of age (age range 64 to 85 years) have been treated with Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg for up to 3 months. The adverse reactions reported in this population were similar in type and incidence to those reported by younger patients.

ADVERSE REACTIONS In controlled US and International clinical studies, a total of 3210 adult and adolescent patients ages 12 years and older received treatment with Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg at doses of 50 to 800 mcg/day. The majority of patients (n = 2103) were treated with 200 mcg/day. In controlled US and International studies, a total of 990 pediatric patients (ages 3 to 11 years) received treatment with Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg, at doses of 25 to 200 mcg/day. The majority of pediatric patients (720) were treated with 100 mcg/day. A total of 513 adult, adolescent, and pediatric patients have been treated for 1 year or longer. The overall incidence of adverse events for patients treated with Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg was comparable to patients treated with the vehicle placebo. Also, adverse events did not differ significantly based on age, sex, or race. Three percent or less of patients in clinical trials discontinued treatment because of adverse events, this rate was similar for the vehicle and active comparators.

All adverse events (regardless of relationship to treatment) reported by 5% or more of adult and adolescent patients ages 12 years and older who received Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg, 200 mcg/day and by pediatric patients ages 3 to 11 years who received Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg, 100 mcg/day in clinical trials vs placebo and that were more common with Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg than placebo, are displayed in the table below.

ADVERSE EVENTS FROM CONTROLLED CLINICAL TRIALS IN SEASONAL ALLERGIC AND PERENNIAL ALLERGIC RHINITIS (PERCENT OF PATIENTS REPORTING)

	Adult and Adolescent Patients 12 years and older		Pediatric Patients Ages 3 to 11 years	
	NASONEX 200 mcg (N = 2103)	VEHICLE PLACEBO (N = 1671)	NASONEX 100 mcg (N = 374)	VEHICLE PLACEBO (N = 376)
Headache	26	22	17	18
Viral Infection	14	11	8	9
Pharyngitis	12	10	10	10
Epistaxis/Blood-Tinged Mucus	11	6	8	9
Coughing	7	6	13	15
Upper Respiratory Tract Infection	6	2	5	4
Dysmenorrhea	5	3	1	0
Musculoskeletal Pain	5	3	1	1
Sinusitis	5	3	4	4
Vomiting	1	1	5	4

Other adverse events which occurred in less than 5% but greater than or equal to 2% of mometasone furoate adult and adolescent patients (ages 12 years and older) treated with 200-mcg doses (regardless of relationship to treatment), and more frequently than in the placebo group included: arthralgia, asthma, bronchitis, chest pain, conjunctivitis, diarrhea, dyspepsia, earache, flu-like symptoms, myalgia, nausea, and rhinitis.

Other adverse events which occurred in less than 5% but greater than or equal to 2% of mometasone furoate pediatric patients ages 3 to 11 years treated with 100-mcg doses vs placebo (regardless of relationship to treatment) and more frequently than in the placebo group included: diarrhea, nasal irritation, otitis media, and wheezing.

Rare cases of nasal ulcers and nasal and oral candidiasis were also reported in patients treated with Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg, primarily in patients treated for longer than 4 weeks.

In postmarketing surveillance of this product, cases of nasal burning and irritation, anaphylaxis and angioedema, and rare cases of nasal septal perforation have been reported.

OVERDOSAGE There are no data available on the effects of acute or chronic overdosage with Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg. Because of low systemic bioavailability, and an absence of acute drug-related systemic findings in clinical studies, overdosage is unlikely to require any therapy other than observation. Intranasal administration of 1600 mcg (8 times the recommended dose of Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg) daily for 29 days, to healthy human volunteers, was well tolerated with no increased incidence of adverse events. Single intranasal doses up to 4000 mcg have been studied in human volunteers with no adverse effects reported. Single oral doses up to 8000 mcg have been studied in human volunteers with no adverse effects reported. Chronic overdosage with any corticosteroid may result in signs or symptoms of hypercorticism (see **PRECAUTIONS**). Acute overdosage with this dosage form is unlikely since one bottle of Nasonex Nasal Spray, 50 mcg contains approximately 8500 mcg of mometasone furoate.

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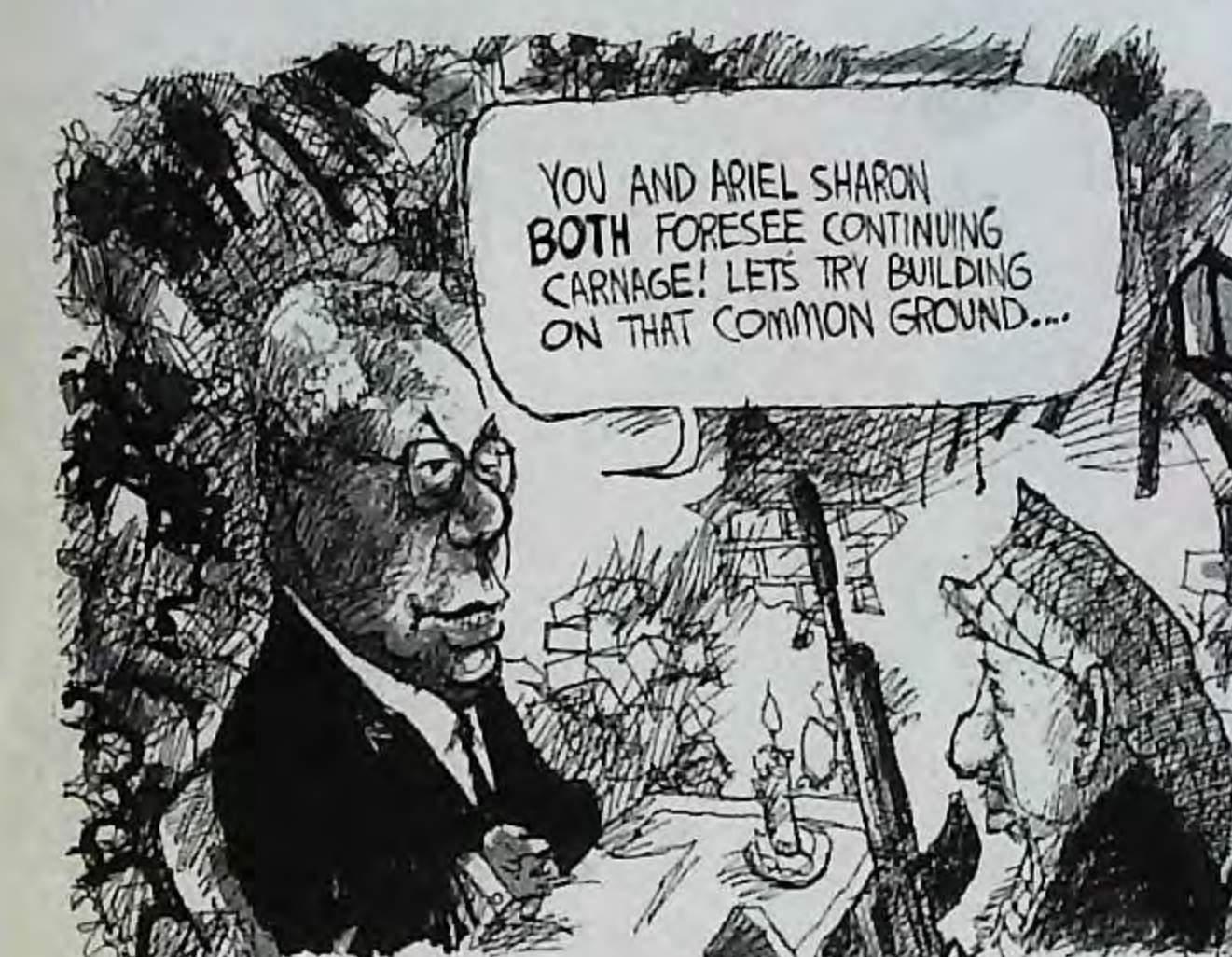
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Perspectives

"These are murderers. It's not suicide, it's murder."

White House press secretary **Ari Fleischer**, defending his use of the term "homicide bomber"



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"Somehow it moved." **Los Angeles International Airport spokesman Harold Johnson**, on the parked American Airlines 767 that rolled 60 feet, smashing into a fence and blocking a side street

"Biology class used to be about cutting up critters and looking at their innards. Now it's all molecular. It's about DNA and double helixes." **Dallas high-school science teacher Richard Taylor**, in support of high schools' new approach of teaching physics before biology

"I'm going to die." **French cameraman Gilles Jacquier**, after being shot at a West Bank refugee camp. He was treated and released.

"She wanted to do her service like the other girls." **Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations Yehuda Lancry**, on his niece, who turned down an offer to study dance in London to serve in the military. She died in a suicide bombing of a bus on Wednesday.



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"The government has abandoned its functions." **Venezuela National Guard Gen. Alberto Camacho Kairuz**, announcing that the armed forces had ousted President Hugo Chávez and taken control of the country

"If the Catholic Church in America does not fit the definition of organized crime, then Americans seriously need to examine their concept of justice." **Arthur Austin**, on the scandal rocking the Roman Catholic Church. He claims he was sexually abused by a priest.

"And so, in my State of the—the my State of the Union—or state—my speech to the nation, whatever you want to call it, speech to the nation—I asked Americans to give 4,000 years—4,000 hours over the next—the rest of your life—of service to America." **President George W. Bush**, on his community-service initiative




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"If this legislation was in place a year ago, Enron's hardworking employees would not have to shed their skivvies in Playboy to supplement their retirements." **Florida Rep. Mark Foley**, on the new bipartisan pension-protection law

"Nothing is more important to England's arrangements for the World Cup than the state of David Beckham's foot." **British Prime Minister Tony Blair**, on his hopes for England's 26-year-old, injured team captain's return to play in the World Cup opener on June 2

"It's just fun sitting on Hollywood Boulevard watching the freaks and the tourists walk by." **"Star Wars" fan Steve Elms**, on waiting in line—already—for the next "Star Wars" movie, opening May 16

"Extreme old age." **Britain's Queen Mother's official cause of death**



Jerusalem
Victims of Friday's
suicide bombing are
rushed to a hospital

NIR ELIAS—REUTERS

A War's Human Toll

Israel wins a fierce battle, but
the victory gives birth to
another saga of blood and fire.
BY JOSHUA HAMMER

EARLY ON THE MORNING OF FRIDAY, APRIL 5, FIRST Sgt. Gur Binyamin climbed inside an armored personnel carrier with a half dozen other members of the Israeli Fifth Battalion's reconnaissance unit and rumbled straight into hell. For the previous two days the Army reservist from Kibbutz Shaar HaGolan in northern Israel had been dug into a hillside overlooking the Jenin refugee camp, observing the movements of Palestinian militants through his binoculars and night-vision scope. The panicky voices of other Israeli soldiers fighting in the camp crackled over his radio day and night, describing heavy gunfire coming from every direction. Many men in his company wanted to stay out of the battle, but on Friday

morning, Binyamin's 36-year-old platoon commander ordered them into the thick of it. Before they embarked, the commander unrolled an aerial photograph revealing the mazelike warrens of the camp. Their mission: to blast through walls from house to house, seizing weapons and neutralizing militants over a quarter-square-mile area. "Don't ever set foot in the streets," the commander warned them.

The APC column rumbled down the hill, bounced over a dirt road a few hundred meters, then entered the refugee camp. Crammed inside his armored shell, Binyamin (a pseudonym) couldn't see a thing, but the ping and crackle of bullets from Kalashnikovs and M-16s was incessant and terrifying. The APCs screeched to a stop in an alley somewhere near the center; as Binyamin leapt outside, snipers perched on rooftops fired at the vehicle, narrowly missing him. Binyamin and his comrades quickly commandeered a two-story dwelling and then began their work, crashing through walls with giant hammers, searching houses, shepherding terrified Palestinian families into rooms out of the line of fire.

On the fourth day, Binyamin was pulling night guard duty in another house that his unit had occupied, peering through the living-room window with a starlight scope attached to his M-16. A sniper fired through the window, and a bullet smashed into his trigger hand, crushing the bones in his fingers. Recuperating in a hospital in Afula now, Binyamin says that in the late 1990s he experienced plenty of fighting in south-

ern Lebanon, but the scale and intensity of this battle dwarfed that confrontation. "I've never seen anything like it," he says.

The battle of Jenin has already given rise to dueling metaphors: one of Israel's top generals called it the "Palestinian Masada," a reference to the suicidal last stand of Jewish warriors besieged by Roman invaders in their hilltop fortress in A.D. 73. Palestinian leaders have labeled it another Sabra and Shatila, referring to the massacre of more than 1,000 Palestinians by Christian militias during the Lebanon war in 1982, an atrocity for which the then Israeli commander, Ariel Sharon, was held indirectly responsible. As of late last week, Israeli military sources admitted only to "hundreds" of dead and wounded Palestinian guerrillas, while Saeb Erakat, the Palestinian

Authority's minister of local government, claimed that 500 people were killed, many of them civilians. A handful of journalists who managed to evade Israel's military cordon and sneak into the camp found several corpses, and did not get the sense that an outright massacre had occurred.

But even before the full story emerges, the battle is looming large in the mythologies of both peoples. Eight days of close-range fighting left 23 Israeli soldiers dead in the camp. It was one of the bloodiest military operations for Israel since the 1973 war, and confirmation for many Israelis that they are engaged, as Prime Minister Sharon has repeatedly said, in a war for survival against a ruthless enemy. For Palestinians, the epic defense of Jenin rep-



Jenin, West Bank
The Israeli Army cordoned off Jenin refugee camp, scene of the bloodiest fighting. Palestinians claimed atrocities took place; Israel denied it.



Nablus, West Bank

At a mosque turned into a makeshift hospital and morgue, young men take stock of the corpses of Palestinians killed in fighting with Israeli forces

resents the apex of their liberation struggle—a mix of victimhood and heroism. Dozens of women in Gaza who gave birth during the fighting named their children Jenin, in solidarity with the besieged refugee camp.

Already some Middle Eastern television networks are reporting that Jenin was a horrific massacre, and the Israeli military's barring of reporters from the refugee camp for the past week is certain to feed Arab conspiracy theories. Even if the truth turns out to be something less than a full-scale atrocity, Jenin is certain to intensify the Arab world's demonization of Sharon—and further dim the prospects of peace in the region.

The fall of Jenin coincided with the arrival in Israel last Thursday of Secretary of State Colin Powell, bound for a peace mission that many believe was doomed to failure before it began. Sharon had ignored American requests to call back his forces, which had killed an untold number of civilians, caused hundreds of millions of dollars in damage to Ramallah, Nablus, Bethlehem and other West Bank cities, and left the Palestinian Authority in ruins. The prime minister repeatedly insisted that he'd continue Operation Protective Wall until the infrastructure of terror was rooted out. Many observers on both sides doubt he will ever succeed. "The terrorism of suicide bombings was born of despair. There is no military solution to despair," says Nahum Barnea, a columnist with the Israeli newspaper Yediot Ahronot.

The difficulty of Powell's position became tragically clear on Friday, when a female suicide bomber killed six Israelis and injured 70 at a crowded market in central Jerusalem. On Saturday, under pressure from Washington, Yasir Arafat issued a statement in Arabic and English in which he condemned suicide bombings of civilians and expressed "our full commitment to a fair and just peace between the two peoples." Although the statement was dismissed by some as a transparent ploy to obtain a meeting with Powell, it was still enough to get a session scheduled for Sunday. Even so, Arafat may prove stubbornly intransigent: held hostage in his fetid Ramallah compound, his popularity at a record high, his people dying by the hundreds, he almost seemed to relish his role as a would-be (but not-quite) martyr for his cause.

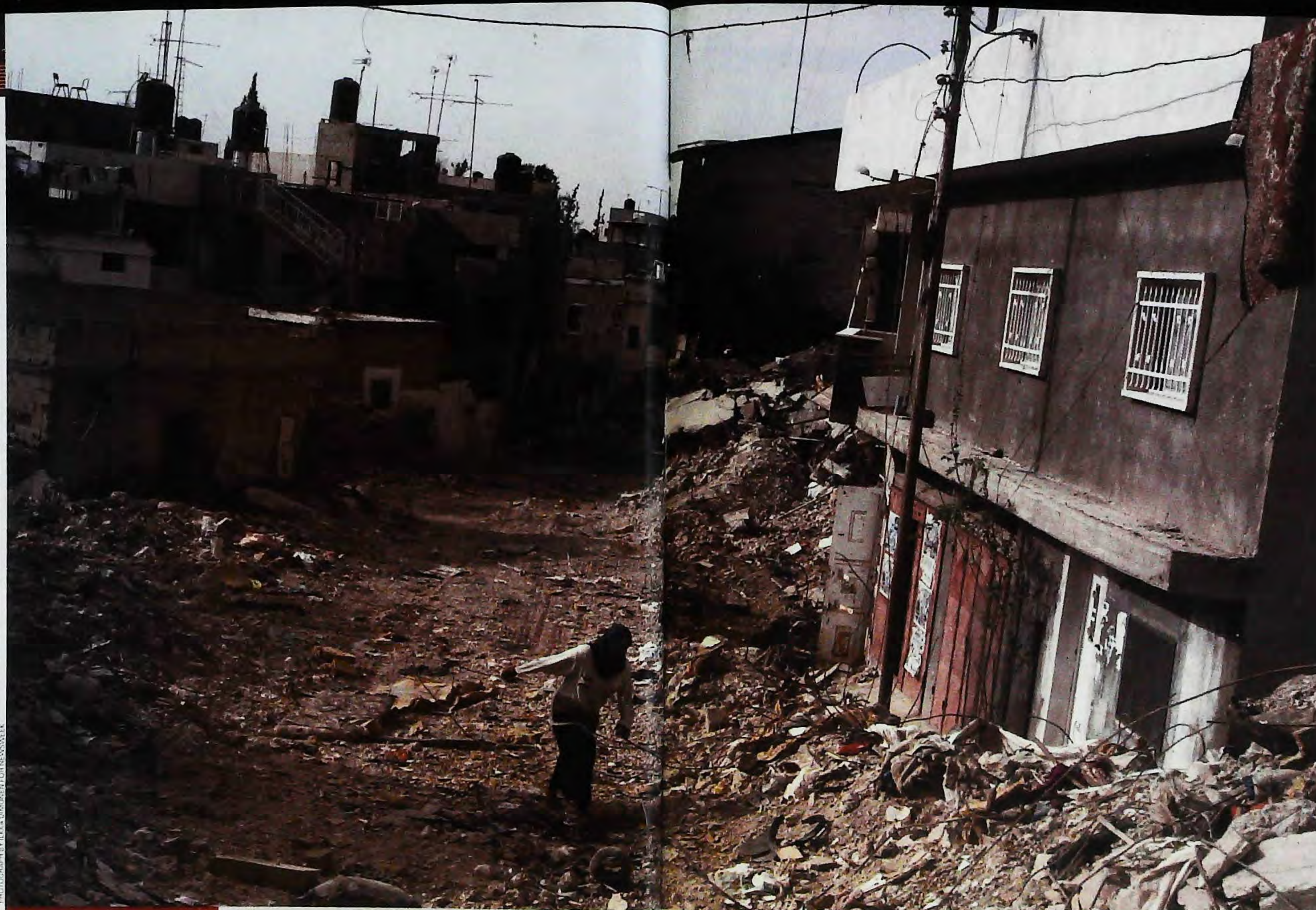
With the extremism on both sides deepening, the United States finds itself in an increasingly uncomfortable—and potentially dangerous—position. Anti-American sentiment is growing among Palestinians, most of whom regard the Bush administration as openly pro-Sharon. Many are incensed that American weapons, from

Apache helicopters to M-16 rifles, are being used by the Israeli military to kill their people. Israel, meanwhile, is worried that the United States may be tilting toward the Palestinians, prodding Sharon to make political concessions without regard to Israel's security concerns.

It's not surprising that the most ferocious battle of the Israeli-Palestinian war unfolded in Jenin. The town has a long history of militancy. Izzadin Al Kassem, a Muslim preacher turned guerrilla from Jenin, led a bloody revolt against British rule in the 1930s; the military wing of the radical Islamic group Hamas named itself after him. More recently, Jenin's refugee camp, a dense labyrinth of cinder-block houses and rutted dirt roads established by Palestinian refugees from Haifa and other northern Israeli towns in 1948, has been the focal point of Palestinian resistance during the second *intifada*. Both Hamas and Islamic Jihad enjoy enormous popularity here, and more than a dozen suicide bombers have come out of the camp and its surrounding area, earning Jenin the dubious distinction of being "the suicide-bombing capital of the West Bank."

Militant leaders inside Jenin's refugee camp were well prepared for the Israeli invasion. The resistance was guided by a committee of radicals, including Mahmoud Tawalbeh, the leader of Islamic Jihad's military wing in Jenin, and Jamal abul Haija, a one-handed Hamas explosives expert. After the Passover massacre in Netanya that killed 27 people, "the calls went out from the mosque to prepare for the enemy," one witness told NEWSWEEK. Bombmakers from Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades manufactured explosives in home laboratories and secreted them in the roads and inside doorways and wall crevices; snipers built up positions on rooftops, and militant leaders burrowed tunnels underneath the camp, giving them freedom of movement. Ordinary citizens also took up arms—often no more than an aging pistol or Enfield rifle—to defend their turf against the enemy. Studying Israel's previous incursion into the camp in early March, the militants were able to predict, with uncanny accuracy, how and where the troops would be deployed.

At 2 in the morning on Wednesday, April 3, the Israeli Army moved in. Merkava tanks and armored personnel carriers entered the city from as many as five different points, swiftly overcoming resistance from



Jenin, West Bank
Property damage in the devastated towns ran into hundreds of millions of dollars

One soldier was shot in the head as he emerged from his armored personnel carrier; another was hit in the throat and died murmuring, 'I can't feel myself'

gunmen stationed across downtown Jenin before advancing toward the refugee camp on the western edge of the city. Infantry troops threaded their way through the dirt alleyways, clambering over electric poles deliberately knocked down to block their paths. Sniper fire rang out from all directions, and booby traps exploded in their faces. One soldier was shot in the head and killed the moment he emerged from his armored personnel carrier; another one was shot in the throat and died murmuring, "I can't feel myself." On the morning of Tuesday, April 9, a unit of reservists had just entered a small courtyard surrounded by houses in the heart of the camp when a sui-

cide bomber leapt out and detonated himself. Some soldiers died instantly in the blast; others were crushed to death beneath collapsing walls or shot by snipers. Thirteen lives were lost. "We saw the flashes of the explosion, and the people lying on the ground," an officer told Yediot Ahronot. "There was no need to say anything, as we all knew immediately what had happened."

The suicide attack brought a brutal Israeli response. Just past midnight on April 10, Hassan Al Ahmad watched from his windows one mile across tomato and wheat fields from the refugee camp as four Apache helicopters swooped in low over his neighborhood. Hovering over the rooftops, the

choppers fired 20 missiles into the camp in 15 minutes and obliterated many homes. Then the Apaches moved in closer, Al Ahmad says, shooting hundreds of 800mm rounds from their cannons at gunmen in the alleys. Over the next days, Israeli forces broke through narrow alleyways with bulldozers, flattening blocks of houses and sometimes burying their inhabitants alive, according to witnesses. Some residents were used as human shields, witnesses say, forced to open doors to suspected militants' homes before Israeli troops stormed inside. The onslaught began to weaken the resistance: Mahmoud Tawalbeh, the Islamic Jihad commander, was reportedly killed in

an exchange of gunfire on Tuesday morning. On Thursday morning, 36 guerrillas surrendered after running out of ammunition. They left behind a landscape of devastation and an unknown number of casualties. "Children are looking for their parents among the ruins," one witness reported. "There are entire families who cannot find their homes."

As of late last week, that destruction remained barely visible to the outside world. On Friday morning, a small group of reporters managed to enter the center of Jenin city by following a circuitous route along dirt tracks through vegetable fields. The streets were utterly deserted and

wrecked, a scene common now to many West Bank towns: smashed cars, broken electrical poles, buildings pocked by bullets or more seriously damaged by rockets. The tight military cordon around Jenin camp, however, made it impossible to substantiate or refute claims of atrocities committed there by Israel.

Much of the Palestinian testimony seemed confused or based on hearsay. But some eyewitnesses did provide accounts of atrocities that human-rights organizations would like to investigate, as soon as Israel provides access to the camp. Ahmad Assad, for instance, told NEWSWEEK that Israeli troops entered his house on Jenin's main street at 5:30 p.m. on Saturday, April 6. They searched both floors and then ordered Assad, 75, to call his neighbors into the street. The soldiers placed 13 women and children in one room, then brought outside three men—two brothers from the Shalabi family and their aged father—and told them to remove their shirts in a routine check for suicide bombs. One of the brothers wore a Johnson & Johnson elastic back brace around his waist. Assad claims that the officer in charge, who went by the nickname Gabi, apparently thought it was a suicide belt. "Gabi screamed, 'Look, look,' and told two of his soldiers, 'Kill him,'" says Assad, who speaks some Hebrew. "They shot all three men with bursts from their M-16s from two meters away." The two younger men were killed; the third, 60-year-old Fateh Saleh Shalabi, survived and is reportedly still in the camp. An Israeli military spokeswoman calls the allegation a lie. "This is against all basic rules and morals that the IDF has," she says. "IDF soldiers have orders not to harm civilians, to fire only on gunmen who put soldiers' lives in risk."

Though the resistance in Jenin was over by the weekend, the International Committee of the Red Cross was still being barred from entering the camp to make a survey of the dead. Red Cross workers say that they've even been prevented by the Army from rescuing two women trapped in the bulldozed ruins of their home. Israel has announced that it plans to inter the dead gunmen in an "enemies cemetery" in the Jordan Valley where Lebanese guerrillas killed in cross-border fighting are buried in unmarked graves. It also said it will soon allow the families of dead civilians to bury their remains in the Jenin cemetery. But the long delay in opening the camp has cemented the impression that Israel has something to hide. It's also created a space for myths and legends—of the sort that cry out for revenge—to grow.

With DAN EPHRON in Afula

Amid appalling violence, coexistence seems impossible. But the key now may be to concentrate on the endgame.

BY CHRISTOPHER DICKEY AND DANIEL KLAIDMAN

A Blueprint For Peace

MIDDLE EAST

ADNAN ATTIAH IS STILL SHAKY AFTER HIS ORDEAL IN A WEST BANK TOWN UNDER ASSAULT by the Israeli Army. "We couldn't get out the door, couldn't look out the window," he says. But after almost two weeks in the besieged Palestinian city of Ramallah, he and his family finally made it to Israel's sprawling Hadassah Hospital, where his 7-year-old son will have a bone-marrow transplant. The hospital, on a hill outside Jerusalem, is a refuge of compassion and coexistence.

"When you balance between peace and war, who is the human being—what kind of values would he have—to choose war?" asks Attiah, a 42-year-old language teacher. "Only killing comes out of that. Only hate." All this could be over, he said, if Israelis and Palestinians could live in peace "in two states."

Israeli specialist Dr. Reuven Or—a religious settler living on the occupied West Bank—will perform the procedure on Attiah's son. Dr. Or also believes that coexistence is possible. "In here it's very peaceful, very optimistic," he says. "If the peace process depended on the people, it could move much faster."

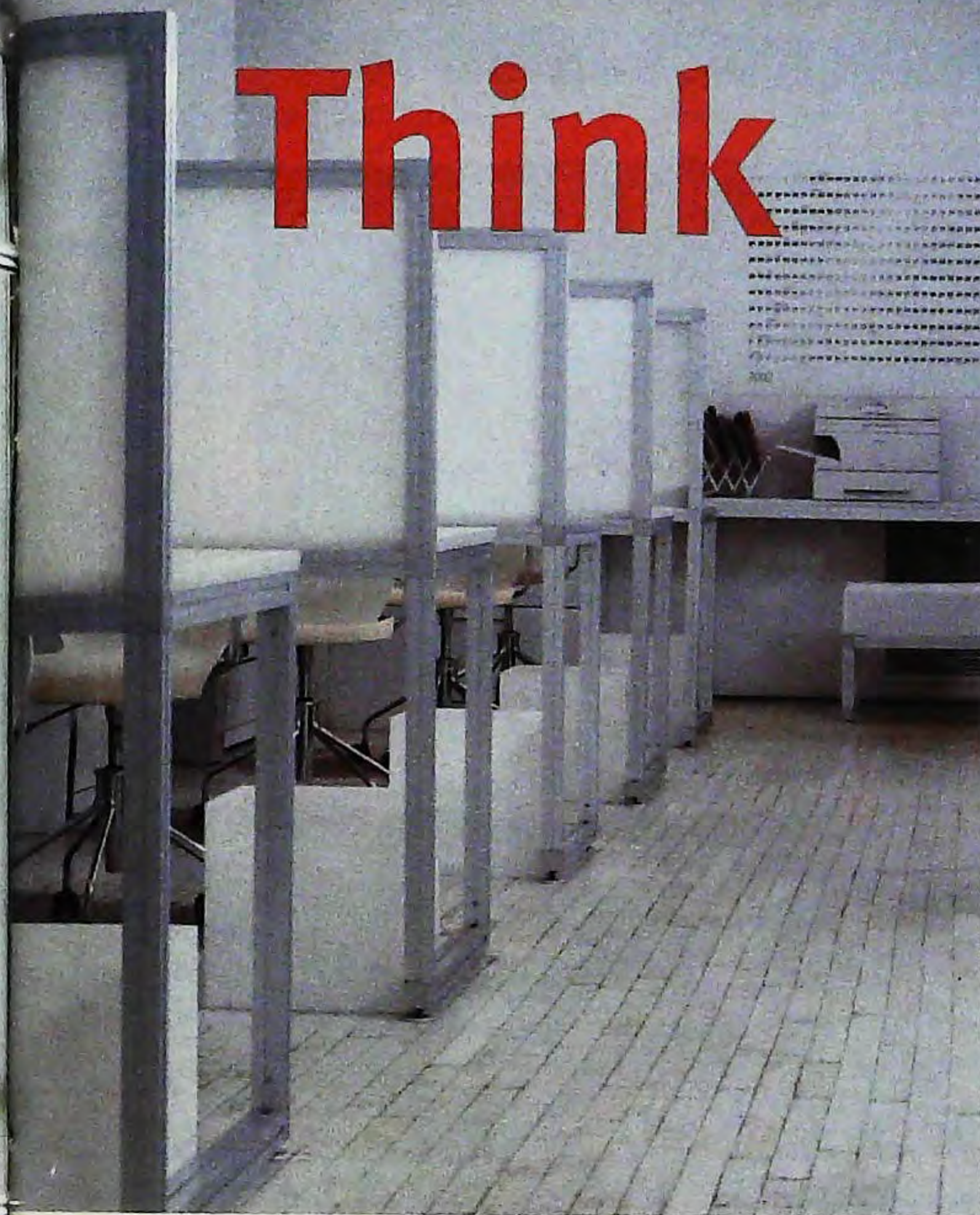
George W. Bush thinks much the same way. So does Secretary of State Colin Powell, who arrived in Israel late last week to mediate. Saudi Arabia has bought into the idea of a comprehensive peace. Even Palestinian Chairman Yasir Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon support a two-state solution, at least rhetorically. Who doesn't support peace? Everyone does—on his or her own terms. (Press Attiah and Or for the details of their respective visions of peace, and they'd almost surely be very different.) So what, precisely, is meant by Mideast "peace"? How do you define the borders? How do you ensure stability? And how do you get there when suicide bombers are on the prowl and troops are on the move?

Because it's so very hard to get Arafat and Sharon into the

same room, much less to negotiate, it makes sense, now, to start talking again about the parameters of a final peace, not just the process to get there. The 1993 Oslo accords that foundered, the Mitchell and Tenet plans that have never been implemented, were all based on step-by-step confidence-building that failed to end the violence or to build any confidence at all. In the current atmosphere of utter distrust, both sides believe they are fighting an us-or-them war of survival. Both need to know exactly what they are getting before they agree to give. Yet oddly, given the scope of the violence, realistic peacemakers on both sides know, basically, what that final deal would look like.

So here, then, are the basic contours of an eventual peace between the Israelis and the Arabs. It is not plucked out of nowhere. The ideas are mostly derived from the work of negotiators who have struggled, with the patience of Job, to find a middle ground. The most positive picture thus far was provided by the then Prime Minister Ehud Barak and President Bill Clinton at the end of 2000 and the beginning of 2001. By then, Clinton was a lame duck, Arafat had opted for violence and Sharon was on his way to replacing Barak as prime minister. The ideas were orphaned when Sharon was voted into office by Israelis who wanted

Think



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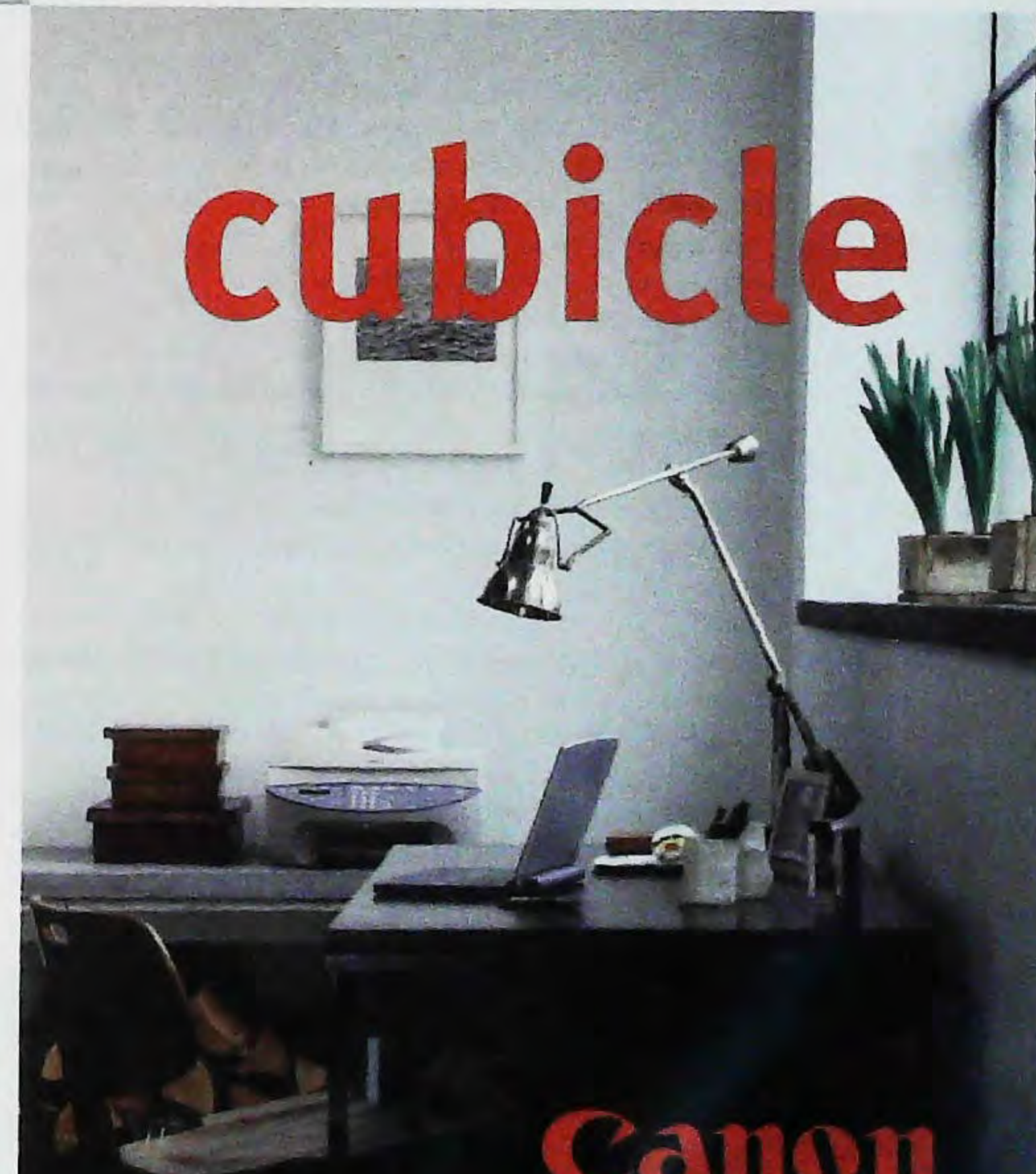
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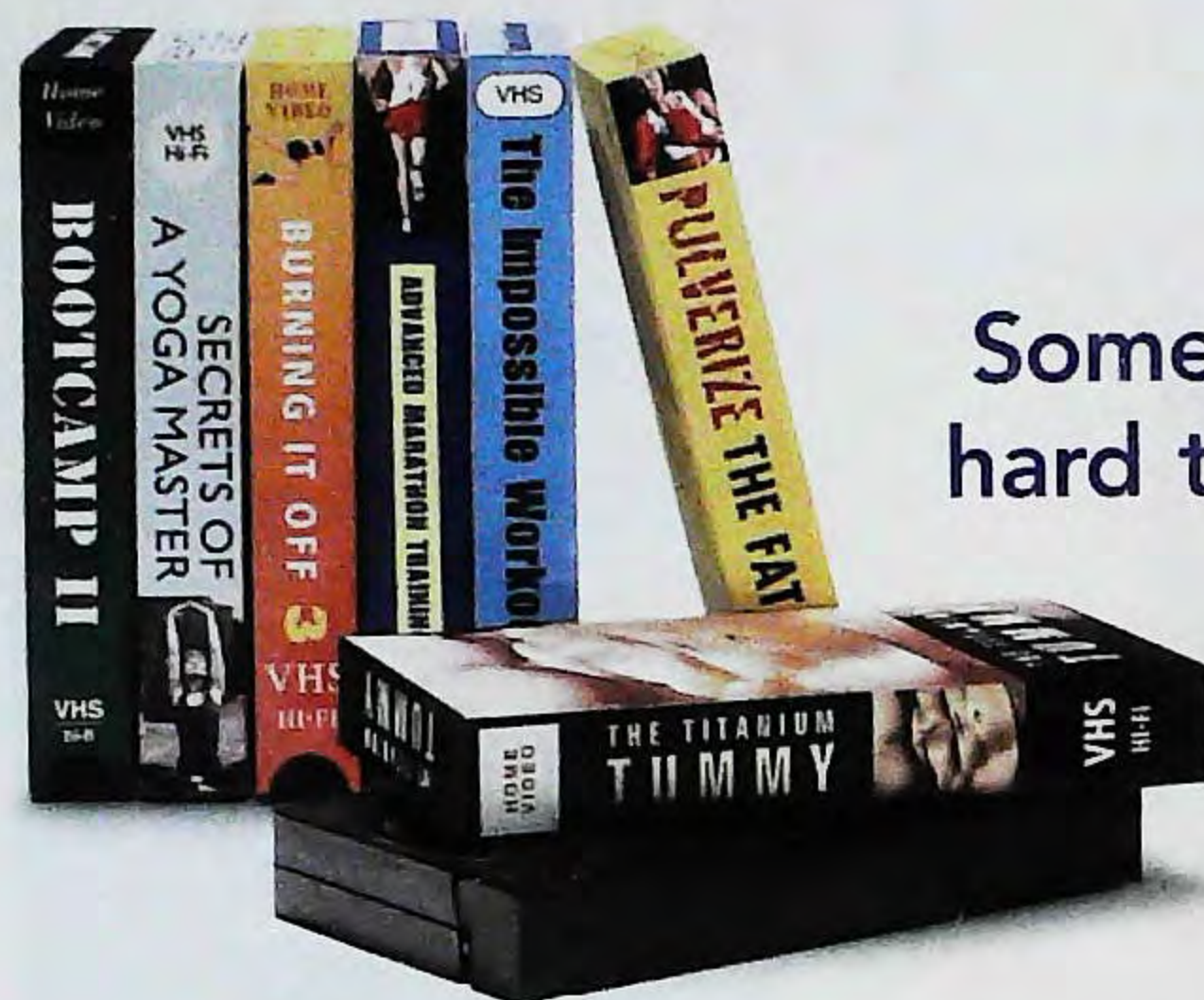
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TOUGH MISSION:
Powell and
Sharon meet
in Jerusalem

tough measures, not peace talks, to end the violence. But the ideas did not disappear. And they can be improved upon:

ARTICLE I

Territory: Ever since Israel blitzed the Arabs in 1967's Six Day War—taking the Sinai and Gaza from Egypt, the Golan Heights from Syria and the West Bank from Jordan—the concept of “land for peace” has been the cornerstone of all efforts to negotiate an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict. It's still the only option. Israel will part with Gaza and almost all of the West Bank. On that land, the Palestinians will establish their own independent state. In return, the Palestinians and other Arabs will formally end their claims on the Jewish state and normalize ties.

But there must be some adjustments to the pre-1967 borders. Israel and the Palestinians should swap equal amounts of territory, allowing a majority of Israeli settlers in the West Bank to be brought under Israeli sovereignty, mainly in the large Gush Etzion, Ariel and Maale Adumim communities. By the same token, the Israelis would give up a land corridor between the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, allowing for a free flow of traffic between the two. Conceivably, the Arab-Israeli communities inside Israel near the border of Palestine would like to be included in the new state. But that decision must be left to them.

ARTICLE II

Jerusalem: At Camp David, Bill Clinton wanted to prove a point about the sacred core of the antagonists' 100-year conflict. So he sent Palestinian and Israeli negotiators back to their

cabins to come up with a list of civic responsibilities they might be able to share in Jerusalem. The next day they brought back a list of roughly 60 items, from garbage collection to mail delivery. There was remarkable consensus. And Clinton thus gave them a glimpse of what was possible. He isolated the practical questions of running a municipality from the abstract and emotionally fraught issue of ownership—or sovereignty. He also identified a principle to deal with the most insoluble part of the riddle: how to divvy up the intangibles of a holy place with too much history and not enough geography.

In the end, Jerusalem must be divided—but shared, and serve as a capital to two states. The starting point is Clinton's seductively simple notion that in occupied East Jerusalem, “what is Arab should be Palestinian and what is Jewish should be Israeli.” Of course, the closer one gets to the “holy basin,” Jerusalem's religious core, the stickier things become. But following the Clinton formula, the Old City of Jerusalem would be divided between Israel and Palestine. Palestinians would hold sway in the Muslim and Christian quarters. The Jewish quarter would remain under Israeli sovereignty. The Armenian quarter would also go to the Palestinians, except for a corridor giving Jews passage to their holy places.

The showstopper, all along, has been the Temple Mount, the site where the ancient Jewish temple once stood, also known as the Haram al-Sharif, revered by Muslims as the place where Muhammad ascended to heaven. Here, Israelis and Palestinians must accept split-level sovereignty. The Islamic sites on the Temple Mount plaza, the Al Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, would fall under Palestinian sovereignty. But the Western Wall and the subterranean space

below the plaza, where Jews believe their temple lies in ruins, would be controlled by Israel. Neither side would be permitted to excavate beneath the Temple Mount platform. The painful principle behind this plan is that Jews and Arabs would have to set aside their competing claims over whose God is the True God and whose history is legitimate.

ARTICLE III

Refugees: The issue of Palestinian refugees who fled or were forced out of Israeli territory in 1948, and their descendants, was the real deal breaker in Arafat's talks with the Barak government at the end of 2000. There are more than 3 million such refugees living in camps on the West Bank and in Gaza, as well as in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. Most of the

Arab countries—and Arafat—have kept them stateless, poor and angry for half a century, preaching that one day they would return to the land they came from. A partial solution lies in bringing some of the refugees out of the foreign camps to live in the newly established state of Palestine. And a small, symbolic number might be allowed to move to Israel. But all must also have the option to stay, and gain citizenship, where they are. If the Arab world is serious about a lasting peace, it must give up the idea that all the refugees' descendants should go back to Palestine or, for that matter, to Israel. If they did, the Jewish state could not survive as such. Nor can the Israelis be expected to admit the Palestinians' "right of return" even as a theoretical notion. "This is where the narratives collide," says Yossi Alpher, a strategic analyst and former Mossad official. "They want us

How to Make Peace In the Middle East

One vision of what might be possible if Israelis and Palestinians were to negotiate in good faith.



Wall, Dome

JERUSALEM

The Holy City is divided—but shared. Jewish West Jerusalem remains under Israeli sovereignty, and most of East

Jerusalem is controlled by the Palestinians. As for the Old City, the Jewish Quarter is Israel's; the Muslim, Christian and Armenian sections are Palestinian-controlled. The Islamic sites on the Temple Mount fall under Palestinian sovereignty, while Israel controls the Western Wall and the space below the mount.

GOLAN HEIGHTS

In return for giving back this strategic area to Syria, Israel gets to keep the road that runs around the Sea of Galilee—and the country's primary water source.

Israeli settlements
Land swap enables many settlers to remain under Israeli control, but the rest must go.



1967 Palestinian refugee

REFUGEES

Refugees are compensated in lieu of being allowed to return to Israel. Those living in camps in Syria, Jordan and Lebanon can move to the new Palestinian state or become citizens of the countries they're in.

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to say that our country was born in sin, and we're responsible for all their misery all these years. That's not going to happen."

In lieu of return, the refugees must receive compensation from the international community, perhaps as part of a massive regional development plan. They must also be allowed the means and mechanisms, through international tribunals, to win further settlements. The objective should be to end violent conflict, and move the problem to the courts, where anger and resentments can be vented peacefully.

ARTICLE IV

Security: Throughout the peace talks in the fall and winter of 2000, one issue seemed oddly easier than all of the others: security. If politicians could forge a deal on the most contentious issues, then no-nonsense generals certainly could work out acceptable arrangements to defend their countries' borders. But after 18 months of bloodshed, security agreements have become harder to take for granted. Now, more than ever, both sides will need clear assurances. Any Palestinian state must be largely demilitarized, though not "non-militarized."



ARAFAT: With Egyptian diplomat

Palestinian police forces would be allowed to maintain light arms to enforce domestic law and order. But Palestine, for a substantial period of time, should have no offensive capability, including heavy armor, missiles or air force. For its part, Israel would have to gradually withdraw its forces from the Jordan Valley, long considered of vital strategic importance. The withdrawal would take place under the supervision of an international force, and Israel would be allowed to maintain up to three early-warning stations on Palestinian territory. The state of Palestine would have sovereignty over its airspace, but would be limited to civil aviation. In exchange, Israel would not be permitted to conduct military operations or training in Palestinian airspace. Finally, Israel must allow Palestine to have sovereignty over its borders and international crossing points. But those borders and crossings should be monitored by an international presence.

ARTICLE V

The Syrian and Lebanese Fronts: So when the deal is done with the Palestinians, is peace at hand for Israel? Not quite. There remains the enormous obstacle

of Syria and its vassal state, Lebanon. According to Itamar Rabinovitch, Israel's chief negotiator on the Syrian track in the 1990s, "four Israeli prime ministers—Yitzhak Rabin, Shimon Peres, Bibi Netanyahu [yes, Netanyahu] and Ehud Barak—all agreed to full withdrawal from the Golan Heights in return for a peace agreement that matches Israel's definition of full and secure." Yet the deal collapsed in January 2000 because the late Syrian president, Hafez Assad, would not allow Israel to keep a road that runs around the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee at the foot of the Golan. Syria now should accept the return of the Golan and make peace. Israel, having given up the strategic heights, should be able to keep the road around the Sea of Galilee. The deal should also include an early-warning station on Mount Hermon, to be manned by a third party.

Can Sharon, Arafat and Bashar Assad reach these settlements on their own? No. "I've always thought that if both sides looked into the abyss, they'd back away," one member of the Powell team confided to NEWSWEEK. "Well, we've seriously underestimated how much pain they could take—and how much they would inflict." Saudi Arabia and Egypt now need to pressure their Arab friends; Washington needs to pressure Israel. And, still, that may not be enough. Which is why U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan last week called for the deployment of an international force in the occupied territories.

In practical terms, that means Americans. But that could become a quagmire every bit as nasty and brutal as Lebanon 20 years ago. (Hundreds of Americans lost their lives there trying to bring peace be-



PERES: With U.S. envoy Anthony Zinni

tween Israel and the Arabs and, indeed, between Sharon and Arafat.) Today some parties to the conflict do not want a negotiated peace. Hamas and Islamic Jihad among the Palestinians, and the zealots of Hizbullah in Lebanon, do not recognize the right of the Jewish state to exist. Efi Eitam, who has just been brought into the Sharon government as a member of the cabinet, does not recognize the rights of Palestinians to live on their own land in their own state anywhere west of the Jordan River. If such voices prevail, then the only strategy for peace is for one side or the other to impose surrender. And both sides can take—and inflict—a lot more pain before that will happen.

Lebanon's prime minister on border violence and how to avoid a wider war. BY LALLY WEYMOUTH

Man in the Middle

GUERRILLAS IN LEBANON HAVE been firing rockets into Israel and Israeli-controlled territory, prompting worries of a wider Middle East war. Can Lebanon stop the attacks, or is the government too weak? And to what extent does Lebanon take orders from its much stronger neighbor Syria? Those questions and others will be discussed



Barak offered Arafat roughly 95 percent of the West Bank, three quarters of East Jerusalem and much of the Jordan Valley in exchange for peace. Arafat said no and turned to violence, so what makes you think the Palestinian Authority wants peace?

Why only 95 percent? Why didn't he offer 100 percent? Why [only] three quarters of [East] Jerusalem?

Many Israelis believe that the Arabs don't want Israel to exist.

There is a minority in the Arab world that doesn't want this. But the vast majority of the Arabs want to make a serious peace with Israel.

Some people say that Syria controls your

control, they help. You have 300,000 Palestinians who are not easy to control and the Syrians are

se Palestinian to return to the Palestinian state?

decision where they go, and want to keep them in

ous?

re the Lebanese

banon's economy verges

a public-debt ratio and the economy itself is

umstances, isn't it a war?

The message I want to deliver to the American people [is] that Lebanon wants to live in peace with Israel. We don't see any use for violence. It leads nowhere.

Do you endorse President Bush's sending Secretary of State Colin Powell to the region?

He should have sent him before. Everybody has to put pressure on to achieve peace.

You mean pressure Israel?

We want the United States to talk Israel into withdrawing from the West Bank and Gaza.

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according to the secretary-general of the United Nations.

Lebanon has a disagreement with the U.N. on this point. The U.N. says that Israel complied with Resolution 425 and that Lebanon has no right to claim Shebaa Farms. But we say that Shebaa Farms is Lebanese. [Israel says it's part of Syria and should be included in negotiations with Damascus.]

But hasn't there been shelling of Israel outside the Shebaa Farms area?

In recent days some Palestinians tried to shell Israel over the Lebanese border, but we captured them and put them in jail.

Will the force used by Hizbullah help induce Israel to come to a peace settlement?

I don't know. If [the border] is too quiet, Israel doesn't make peace. If there is big unrest between Israel and the Palestinians, they say they cannot make a peaceful agreement because of the violence. I feel the Israeli people want to make peace with the Arabs but don't know how. The Saudi peace plan has been adopted by all the Arab countries. This is a big opportunity. I think we have to concentrate on it, not on who shelled who.

But former Israeli prime minister

to say that our country was born in sin, and we're responsible for all their misery all these years. That's not going to happen."

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ARAFAT: With Egyptian diplomat

be allowed to maintain light order. But Palestine, for a s have no offensive capability or air force. For its part, Is

draw its forces from the Jordan Valley, long considered of vital strategic importance. The withdrawal would take place under the supervision of an international force, and Israel would be allowed to maintain up to three early-warning stations on Palestinian territory. The state of Palestine would have sovereignty over its airspace, but would be limited to civil aviation. In exchange, Israel would not be permitted to conduct military operations or training in Palestinian airspace. Finally, Israel must allow Palestine to have sovereignty over its borders and international crossing points. But those borders and crossings should be monitored by an international presence.

ARTICLE V

The Syrian and Lebanese Fronts: So when the deal is done with the Palestinians, is peace at hand for Israel? Not quite. There remains the enormous obstacle

tween Israel and the Arabs and, indeed, between Sharon and Arafat.) Today some parties to the conflict do not want a negotiated peace. Hamas and Islamic Jihad among the Palestinians, and the zealots of Hizbullah in Lebanon, do not recognize the right of the Jewish state to exist. Efi Eitam, who has just been brought into the Sharon government as a member of the cabinet, does not recognize the rights of Palestinians to live on their own land in their own state anywhere west of the Jordan River. If such voices prevail, then the only strategy for peace is for one side or the other to impose surrender. And both sides can take—and inflict—a lot more pain before that will happen.

PERES: With U.S. envoy Anthony Zinni

Lebanon's prime minister on border violence and how to avoid a wider war. BY LALLY WEYMOUTH

Man in the Middle

GUERRILLAS IN LEBANON HAVE been firing rockets into Israel and Israeli-controlled territory, prompting worries of a wider Middle East war. Can Lebanon stop the attacks, or is the government too weak? And to what extent does Lebanon take orders from its much stronger neighbor Syria? Those questions and others will be discussed when Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri comes to Washington this week to meet with President George W. Bush. NEWSWEEK's Lally Weymouth spoke with Hariri by phone before he left Beirut. Excerpts:

WEYMOUTH: The United States is concerned that the shelling across Lebanon's border may lead to a wider war.

HARIRI: The Lebanese government doesn't want any escalation, and we are doing all we can to keep the border stable. It is very hard because of what is going on in the West Bank and [also because] part of our country, Shebaa Farms, is occupied.

Since Israel pulled out of your country in May 2000, Hizbullah has continued to fire across the border at Israel. They did not withdraw totally.

Israel did withdraw 100 percent, according to the secretary-general of the United Nations. Lebanon has a disagreement with the U.N. on this point. The U.N. says that Israel complied with Resolution 425 and that Lebanon has no right to claim Shebaa Farms. But we say that Shebaa Farms is Lebanese. [Israel says it's part of Syria and should be included in negotiations with Damascus.]

But hasn't there been shelling of Israel outside the Shebaa Farms area? In recent days some Palestinians tried to shell Israel over the Lebanese border, but we captured them and put them in jail.



HARIRI: 'The vast majority of Arabs want to make a serious peace'

Three Israeli soldiers were kidnapped last year.

Yes, because Israel is still detaining 18 Lebanese, and they [Hizbullah] want to exchange them for the prisoners. They were kidnapped inside Shebaa Farms.

Will the force used by Hizbullah help induce Israel to come to a peace settlement? I don't know. If [the border] is too quiet, Israel doesn't make peace. If there is big unrest between Israel and the Palestinians, they say they cannot make a peaceful agreement because of the violence. I feel the Israeli people want to make peace with the Arabs but don't know how. The Saudi peace plan has been adopted by all the Arab countries. This is a big opportunity. I think we have to concentrate on it, not on who shelled who.

But former Israeli prime minister

Barak offered Arafat roughly 95 percent of the West Bank, three quarters of East Jerusalem and much of the Jordan Valley in exchange for peace. Arafat said no and turned to violence, so what makes you think the Palestinian Authority wants peace? Why only 95 percent? Why didn't he offer 100 percent? Why [only] three quarters of [East] Jerusalem?

Many Israelis believe that the Arabs don't want Israel to exist. There is a minority in the Arab world that doesn't want this. But the vast majority of the Arabs want to make a serious peace with Israel.

Some people say that Syria controls your country. They don't control, they help. You forget about the 300,000 Palestinians we have. It is not easy to control the situation, and the Syrians are helping us.

Do you want those Palestinians to return to Israel or to a Palestinian state? It is not our decision where they go, but we don't want to keep them in Lebanon.

Are they dangerous? They destabilize the Lebanese community.

It is said that Lebanon's economy verges on collapse. We have a high public-debt ratio to GDP, but the economy itself is doing fine.

Under these circumstances, isn't it crucial to avoid a war? The message I want to deliver to the American people [is] that Lebanon wants to live in peace with Israel. We don't see any use for violence. It leads nowhere.

Do you endorse President Bush's sending Secretary of State Colin Powell to the region? He should have sent him before. Everybody has to put pressure on to achieve peace.

You mean pressure Israel? We want the United States to talk Israel into withdrawing from the West Bank and Gaza.

Is marriage a solution to the sex scandals rocking the Catholic Church worldwide? Just ask Father Gremmels. He has a wife, three kids and a minivan.

BY DANIEL MCGINN

Keeping Different Kinds Of Vows



HUSBAND:
Father Hawkins
and his wife

FATHER JOHN GREMMELS, A Roman Catholic priest, was new to his parish when he went grocery shopping near his church in Ft. Worth, Texas, a few years ago. As he pushed his cart, he held hands with an attractive woman, setting local gossips atwitter. But as priestly scandals go, this one was blessedly short-lived. People quickly learned that Gremmels, 49, is one of a rare breed: a married Catholic priest whose exemption from the vow of celibacy came directly from Pope John Paul II. Gremmels's marriage to Tracy, 41, is totally in accordance with church law. But for Catholics unaccustomed to a priest with a wife and three kids, some experiences take getting used to, like the time his young daughter jumped into his lap during mass. The Gremmelses have

adapted, too. "We try not to do too much snuggling in public," he says.

It's too bad every scandal in the Catholic Church can't be solved that easily. Since January the church has been rocked by revelations that officials covered up decades of molestation charges against priests. Last week in Boston, lawyers released documents that sent new tremors through the community. According to the files, Cardinal Bernard Law transferred alleged sexual predator Father Paul Shanley to new parishes and then out of state without alerting colleagues to the priest's history of abuse charges. The new revelations caused some of Law's strongest supporters—including Sen. Edward Kennedy—to back away. By late last week observers thought Law's resignation was imminent. But on Friday the cardinal announced his inten-

tion "to serve this archdiocese ... as long as God gives me the opportunity." However, some observers believe that won't be long.

The sex scandals have renewed debate about one of Catholicism's defining traits: its all-male, celibate clergy. Some reformers argue that ordaining married priests might eliminate some of the conditions that led to the abuse. Indeed, in a recent *NEWSWEEK* poll, 69 percent of Catholics favored allowing priests to marry. But as they envision this hypothetical, many Catholics are unaware of the small program—administered, coincidentally, by Cardinal Law—that's already providing rare exceptions to the celibacy rule. Since 1981, when the pope signed a "pastoral provision" allowing married Episcopal priests to be ordained into the Roman Catholic priesthood, more than 80 married U.S. Episcopalians have

switched teams, bringing their wives along as they join the nation's 48,000 Catholic priests. The pope allowed the provision to provide sanctuary for disillusioned Episcopalians, and church officials say it doesn't signal any rethinking of the celibacy requirement. Most of the married priests work quietly in the church bureaucracy, but a few serve in parishes. They downplay their novelty, and most say they support the church's celibacy requirement for their peers. "We don't see ourselves as the tip of the iceberg or the vanguard of a new wave," says Father Richard Bradford, a married priest in Boston. But as we imagine a non-celibate priesthood, it's worth examining the parishes where married priests are already as familiar as the Lord's Prayer.

Most of the differences are subtle. There was no glint of recognition as Father Allan

Hawkins, 68, gave the eucharist to the woman in the black leather jacket during mass at St. Mary the Virgin in Arlington, Texas, last week. Most of the time the woman, his wife, José (pronounced Jozee), 60, is just another parishioner, one who is not above forgetting to turn off her mobile phone during the first moments of mass. In some Protestant churches the minister's wife is the organist or Sunday-school teacher. But this is untrodden ground for Catholics, so "my wife would be anxious to avoid anything like that," says Hawkins, whose British accent inflects his liturgy with the sound of Anglicanism. When it comes to sacraments, marriage requires one adjustment: he won't hear his wife's confessions. José says: "You don't want him to go 'OK, and last Tuesday, what did you do?'"

have because he's married and has a family," says Bob Flynn. But Flynn's wife, Lee Ann, thinks that's less important. "Does he have more insight into married life? Of course he does," she says. "But his job is to get me into heaven, not to be my marriage counselor."

The pool of men who've taken this circuitous route to the U.S. Catholic priesthood seems likely to remain small: just three or four men a year are currently making the switch. Whether these married priests foreshadow a larger movement is impossible to say. Father Hawkins, for one, believes the priesthood would benefit from a broader mix of married and celibate priests. Even in a life of Christ, some Adams would be happier if they could bring an Eve along.

With SUZANNE SMALLEY

An Unholy Mess

Last week saw another sordid chapter in the Boston scandal: another victim came forward charging abuse. Many Roman Catholics are calling for the end of celibacy.



CARDINAL BERNARD LAW: New allegations detailing the embattled bishop's efforts to hide sex abuse by yet another priest led even former supporters to back away, but Law wrote priests a letter late last week saying he won't resign.

GREGORY FORD: The 24-year-old was allegedly raped between the ages of 6 and 11 by Father Paul Shanley. After years of self-destructive behavior, Ford finally told his parents about the devastating abuse.



FATHER PAUL SHANLEY: After he spent decades allegedly abusing scores of Catholic boys, the priest continued to be transferred between parishes—and even out of state. The accusation remained under wraps.

Seventeen miles away in Ft. Worth, Father Gremmels sits in an office filled with Notre Dame paraphernalia and ticks through the pros and cons of married priests. Married priests escape the loneliness that can plague clergy living alone, he says. But without families to relocate, celibate priests move more easily between parishes. They aren't at risk of divorce, which could rock a parish. Celibates are also far cheaper for parishes to finance; they require less health insurance, smaller rectories and more-modest retirement plans. Most of all, they don't have to balance the long hours of ministry with the time demands of family. To make this balance work, Gremmels rarely accepts dinner invitations from parishioners and avoids wedding rehearsals to keep Friday nights free for his family. He refers to his family in perhaps one out of 10 homilies, he says, but in some settings the couple plays "don't ask, don't tell" to avoid the complicated explanation. "Sometimes we mention we're married, sometimes we don't," says Tracy, stopping by on her way to the afternoon car pool.

Parishioners seem supportive of their priests' lifestyle. Luanne Graham's favorite priests are married, but she worries that their workload hurts their families; celibates "can give themselves 100 percent to their vocation, instead of being divided," she says. Others say married priests can better identify with a parish. "Father Hawkins has a perspective that a lot of priests don't

'I'VE HAD IT': Gore's speech was a mix of scorn for the GOP and populist fire

THE DEMOCRATS

The Second Coming

After a year in exile, Gore opens fire in Florida. Let Campaign 2004 begin. (Yep, here we go again.)

BY HOWARD FINEMAN

THE INTRODUCTION MUSIC was U2, stadium volume. The posters were slick, expensive and ubiquitous, featuring a map of Florida and the words STILL GORE COUNTRY! By the time the celebrity victim and former almost-president took the ballroom stage in Orlando, the 2,500 Democrats at the state party convention were geeked up like WWF fans on "Smack-down" night. And Al Gore gave them the fighting words they came to hear. Feisty and clean-shaven after a year of meditating in political isolation, Gore tore into George W. Bush and his fellow Republicans' record on domestic issues with a mixture of I-told-you-so scorn and populist fire. The GOP's "right wing" agenda, Gore said, had squandered the surplus, starved education and health-care programs, put retirees at risk and polluted the environment. Worse, he said, Republicans imply that critics are unpatriotic. "They're wrong to vilify honorable men and women who oppose their right-wing agenda and blatantly dishonest budget," he shouted, coat off, sweat pouring from his brow. "I've had it!" The crowd loved it. "He came in here all charged up," said Raul Martinez, the mayor of Hialeah, Fla. "It's like he's a new man: Gore without chains."



TEST RUN: Lieberman took after Bush's approach to Israel

In a crowded Disney World hotel ballroom—just next door to Magic Kingdom—the post-September 11 suspension of partisan politics ended last weekend in a series of acidic speeches by men who want (or might want) to run against Bush in 2004. The event was mass catharsis: a way for Democrats to get past an obsession with what they believe was Gov. Jeb Bush's theft of the election. There is a sense that the president is about to become a mere political mortal again: mired in the nasty complexities of the Middle East, his grip on the Congress tenuous, his poll numbers losing air like a tire with a pinhole leak. Back in Washington, the Democrats are just beginning to go on the attack. In Florida—the

most argued-over terrain in politics—they never stopped. They loathe the Bushes, and expect anyone who might want the Democratic nomination to show they do, too.

No prob. The contenders who showed up in Orlando issued the ritual caveat—support for the president and America's troops in the war on terrorism. Then, not surprisingly, they tore into Bush and the GOP on the full range of domestic issues. More interesting—and more significant—was the willingness of several to delve into foreign policy. Sen. John Edwards of North Carolina criticized Bush's handling of the war in Afghanistan, arguing that he had dropped the ball by not expanding the size of the international peacekeeping force. "That is an enormous mistake, Mr. President," Edwards said. "Don't win the war and lose the victory." Sen. John Kerry of Massachusetts planned to raise the Middle East in a low-key way, criticizing Bush for thinking that he could set aside the bloody dispute while dealing with other issues first. As written, Sen. Joseph Lieberman's speech contained the toughest language of all, charging that the president had "muddled the moral clarity" of the war on terrorism by both "publicly and persistently" pressuring Israel not to do what we ourselves are doing to win the war. "The president risks losing the moral high ground," wrote Lieberman, who became the first Jewish American on a major ticket when he ran with Gore in 2000.

The drama within a drama in Orlando was the building rivalry between the former ticket mates. They and their wives had breakfast on Saturday. Lieberman apparently did not give Gore a heads-up about his pending attack on Bush's Middle East policy. Gore had been advised to do the same, but demurred. It would have been a popular move in Florida, with its heavy contingent of Jewish Democrats. But Gore has spent little time in Florida since 2000. Besides, he needed to make room for literary references designed to underscore his evident conviction that the 2004 nomination is his—and that he would very much like to have it. Gore quoted from Winston Churchill ("Never, never, never, never, never, never give up!") and from poet William Butler Yeats, who lamented an era—we are in one now, Gore said—in which "The best lack all conviction, while the worst / Are full of passionate intensity." It's one of Yeats's most famous works; the title, in case anyone misses the point, is "The Second Coming."

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Addiction. Crime sprees. And now, signs that a powerful painkiller may be infecting the nursery.

Oxy's Offspring

BY DEBRA ROSENBERG

NANCY GREEN HAD never heard of the prescription painkiller OxyContin when the first addict showed up at her office in the fall of 2000. Track marks studded the young woman's arm. And she was seven-months pregnant. Green, a certified nurse midwife in the remote Maine town of Calais, has now become a drug counselor—and a reluctant expert on Maine's epidemic of narcotic abuse. Of the 40 babies Green delivered last year, 10 were born to women hooked on opiates—and OxyContin was their drug of choice. Many babies suffered withdrawal in the nursery, crying inconsolably, shaking with tremors and fighting diarrhea, fever and convulsions. "The baby is getting the same drug as the mother," says Dr. Loretta Finnegan, an expert on opiates and pregnancy. "There's no barrier at all."

First designed to treat severe, chronic pain, OxyContin—a synthetic form of heroin—took hold as a street drug. OxyContin abuse swept through parts of Appalachia and rural New England. The drug's maker, Purdue Pharma, has tried to salvage its sullied name, offering grants to anti-drug groups (Green got \$5,000) and launching a \$6 million ad campaign preaching the perils of prescription-drug abuse. Despite those efforts, towns like Calais have begun to see signs that the Oxy scourge has hit the nursery. The number of reported cases so far is small—in the dozens—perhaps because doctors and law enforcement are still waking up to the problem. But the tallies at hospitals, clinics and jails suggest a disturbing trend is taking shape. In February, Maine's Department of Human Services removed two Calais newborns from Oxy-addicted moms. In Kentucky, one woman was recently indicted for criminal abuse after she injected Oxy during pregnancy. OxyContin, like other opiates, doesn't appear to cause severe birth defects. But the chaotic

cycles of highs and withdrawals can have dire consequences for mother and baby.

Pregnant Oxy users often know little about the drug's effects. When Terrilynn Lake found out she was expecting in the summer of 2000, she was crushing and snorting Oxy pills several times a day. Fellow addicts in Princeton, Maine, told her Oxy was safe because it came by prescription. Lake tried to quit anyway, but she was hooked. The Oxy calmed her and eased her pregnancy-related lower-back pain. "It was



'SHE WAS JUMPY': Lake cradles her daughter, Calla Sue

In Pain

The illegal use of OxyContin is on the rise in the U.S.

1,800 PERCENT: Increase in OxyContin prescriptions between 1996 and 2000.

5,261: Emergency-room incidents involving Oxy's active ingredient in first half of 2000.

\$20-\$40: Going street rate for a 40-milligram pill of OxyContin.

SOURCE: DEA, DRUG ABUSE WARNING NETWORK, IMS HEALTH, SAMRA



more of a body buzz," says Lake, now a trim, soft-spoken 22-year-old.

Oxy-abusing moms face a host of problems. They're more likely to contract HIV, hepatitis or other infections, says Finnegan. They're also likely to take other drugs, smoke cigarettes or drink alcohol, all of which pose dangers to the fetus. And

every time the mother goes through withdrawal, the baby does, too—a traumatic process that can cut the baby's oxygen supply, causing miscarriage, premature labor and intrauterine death. Opiate babies are often born early and at low birth weight, which puts them at risk for poor growth and developmental problems. The babies can be treated with drugs like methadone, but only if doctors realize what's wrong. Most new moms are reluctant to admit drug abuse. And OxyContin seems to elude standard drug tests, making the problem difficult to document.

Lake was relatively lucky. One day, in the eighth month of her pregnancy, she rushed to the Calais hospital with rapid, jittery contractions. She'd taken OxyContin and two other opiates that morning. A few days later she went through withdrawal and early labor simultaneously. At six pounds three ounces, Calla Sue wasn't low birth weight, but she did suffer some withdrawal symptoms. She was red-faced from constant crying. "She was jumpy," says Lake. "We would take pictures of her and she would flinch." Lake had already planned to send Calla Sue to live with her own mother, Cathy Bean, 42. But after her positive drug test, the state stepped in to ensure Lake wouldn't have custody. Lake says she's been clean since late last year. These days Lake visits cherubic Calla Sue at her mother's old farmhouse, watchful for any signs of developmental delays.

Scientists still know little about opiates' long-term effects on babies. Many of the dire predictions about crack babies turned out to be hype. And Purdue Pharma stresses that OxyContin is not approved for use during pregnancy. At Eastern Maine Medical Center in Bangor, where the neonatal unit now usually houses at least one Oxy baby at all times, doctors are launching a program to follow the infants' progress after they leave the hospital. Their efforts may help determine whether Oxy babies are a blip—or an epidemic in the making. ■

FROM TOP: PHOTOGRAPH BY JONATHAN TROSKAN FOR NEWSWEEK; RICHARD GRAULICH—PALM BEACH POST



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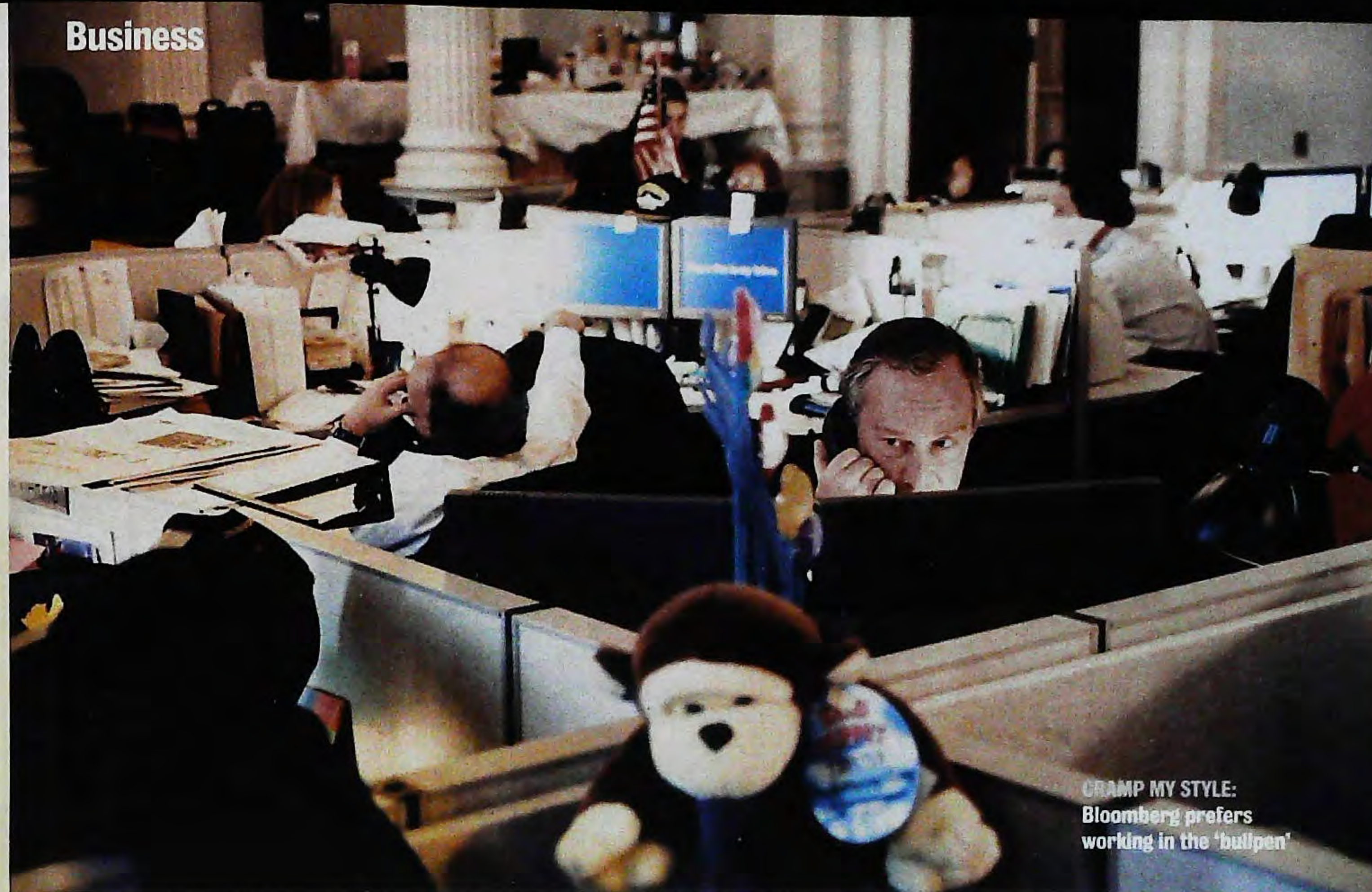
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Business



CRAMP MY STYLE:
Bloomberg prefers
working in the 'bullpen'

Mike Bloomberg has brought his quirky entrepreneurialism to New York City, presiding over a cubicle culture of nonstop work—and junk food. BY MATT BAI

Mayor Mike, Inc.

NEW YORK'S NEW MAYOR CLEARLY FEELS OUT OF PLACE in his official corner office, with its view of the plaza outside and its paintings plucked from the city's finest collections. He stares warily at the stately oak desk where Rudy Giuliani used to sit. "I sat at that chair twice in eight weeks, because we did two radio shows, and you had to set up the microphones," Michael Bloomberg said recently, slumped down on a crimson couch like a kid in his grandmother's living room. He prefers to spend his time upstairs—in the bullpen. That's what aides call the vast high-ceilinged chamber where Bloomberg, the onetime trader, has set up a kind of bond-firm boiler room, so he and his deputies can munch on bagels and coffee and shout over low walls the way traders might issue orders to buy or sell. "My whole career has been spent sitting out in the middle," the billionaire may-or

says. "You want privacy? Do it at home." Bloomberg has always been known as a quirky entrepreneur, given to surrounding his employees with fish tanks and junk food. Now, as Bloomberg passes the 100-day mark in his new career as a mayor, city hall is beginning to feel a lot like a subsidiary of Bloomberg LP, the huge media conglomerate that made him rich. If George W. Bush is the M.B.A. president,

then Bloomberg is the Wall Street mayor, presiding over an investment-bank culture that stresses high sales, low overhead and nonstop work. While most of his senior staff are veteran bureaucrats, he's brought in several private-sector types whose prior experience with city government consisted of paying their parking tickets. New Yorkers seem to like the new look; in some circles, Trader Mike is even more popular than his law-and-order predecessor.

That's the good news. The not-so-good news is that Bloomberg's business model is about to be tested by some rock-hard realities. The new mayor is already chafing against intrusive reporters, who want to know when he's jetting off to the Bahamas, and carping city councilors, who want him to raise taxes. He's struggling to rebuild the decimated downtown financial district. And all his business acumen won't make it

SOMEWHERE BETWEEN PRACTICAL AND "WHO'S YOUR DADDY?"



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easy to close what could be a cavernous \$5 billion budget gap—the city's most urgent fiscal crisis in decades. The worst-case scenario: although it's unlikely, New York could conceivably end up under the supervision of an independent control board like it did in the 1970s. In Bloomberg's world, that's known as a hostile takeover.

For the moment, Bloomberg is firmly in control. When he won last fall's election, he spent \$69 million of his own fortune—or \$92 per vote, a record for any politician anywhere. (That doesn't count the nearly \$1 million in bonuses he doled out to campaign aides.) Enthusiasts of campaign-finance reform may not have appreciated that tactic, but it does mean that Bloomberg doesn't owe any debts to big contributors or a party machine. While he's nominally a Republican, his top staff is decidedly nonpartisan. "The two biggest things a CEO, or in this case a mayor, does is to pick staff and set a tone," Bloomberg says. "People need to be protected and rewarded. Take away barriers and provide tools—that's your job."



GRAB 'N' GO: Bloomberg likes to keep snacks handy for the staff. He digs in on occasion to help maintain his torrid pace.

Deputy Mayor Dan Doctoroff is one of those career corporate guys who took a top post—like Bloomberg himself, he's earning \$1 a year—after Bloomberg personally persuaded him. "I had a big Park Avenue office with a venture-capital firm, and now I sit in a 5-foot-by-5-foot cubicle," he says, laughing. "I haven't shared an office since I was a second-year associate at Lehman Brothers."

boosting the bottom line and keeping his clients happy. He ordered all departments to cut their budgets by 20 percent and cut perks like the city hall car fleet, which he slashed from 70 to 35. (The mayor himself makes a point of riding the subway, where voters don't hesitate to tell him what they think. "Fix the Knicks!" one angry fan shouted across the platform.) Bloomberg is

“The two biggest things a CEO, or in this case a mayor, does is to pick a staff and set a tone. People need to be protected and rewarded.”



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“I had a big Park Avenue office with a venture-capital firm,” says Deputy Mayor Dan Doctoroff. “Now I sit in a 5-foot-by-5-foot cubicle.”

already talking about selling off naming rights for the city's parks and zoos.

Fearing that New York's businesses will bail for Connecticut or New Jersey while downtown is being salvaged, Bloomberg is asking corporations to rate the city in a questionnaire and dispatching “account teams” to visit every major firm. The biggest coup so far was getting a commitment from American Express and its roughly 4,000 employees who fled Manhattan after September 11 to come back. Bloomberg, in return, vowed to make the rebuilt financial district safe—and to use his AmEx card exclusively. “He was incredibly helpful, even before he got into office formally,” says American Express CEO Ken Chenault. “This is a real straight shooter who wants to get things done.”

If Giuliani saw himself as the city's top cop, then Bloomberg casts himself as its master salesman. The job of his staff is to give him something he can sell. Aides earned his ire the day before he was to publicly unveil his budget when they showed him slides littered with acronyms like PEG (that's “Program to Eliminate the Gap”). “If I don't understand it,” Bloomberg barked, “how's the guy on the subway sitting next to me tomorrow morning going to understand it?” Bloomberg sees the tedious nightly routine of dropping by ceremonies as the only way to sell his plans to the city. But he admits it's taking a toll. “If you keep up the pace that I'm going at, you inevitably will have a heart attack,” he says.

Chances are slim that Bloomberg can cut billions out of the city budget and re-

main as popular as Santa Claus. He's already getting into small-time spats with the city's notoriously merciless press corps. He could soon come up against powerful unions—something he never had to face at his own company. And if he collides with a city council dominated by new members, a control board might be the only way to separate them. Bloomberg insists that wouldn't be so bad. A control board would be similar to the council, he explains, “except that they're smart and they understand the problem.” That's not exactly the kind of politic thing a mayor is supposed to say. But then, Mike Bloomberg is an entrepreneur, not a politician. He may have that fancy corner office—but nothing's going to make him sit in that chair. ■

Business Crisis? Rudy Has Some Advice.

BY MATT BAI

WHAT EXACTLY DOES one call Rudy Giuliani these days? Mr. Ex-Mayor? Sir Rudolph? “Whatever anybody wants to call me,” Giuliani says. “I have all kinds of names. Mr. Mayor. Mr. Former Mayor. Rudy. I can't tell you the other names.”

How about Business Guru Rudy? While one of New York's leading businessmen has moved into city hall, the nation's most famous mayor and his top aides have gone into business. Giuliani Partners, formed earlier this year, specializes in replicating some of Giuliani's proudest achievements—computerized-based tracking systems, security, fiscal reform. Giuliani says corporations can benefit from systems he put in place, like Compstat, which created accountability in police precincts by computerizing their records, and Jobstat, which did the same for the city's welfare-to-work placements.

In many ways, the new venture is a lot like Giuliani's old job. He still touts his administration's record on a daily basis, and he works down the hall from partners that include his police and fire commissioners, chief of staff and press secretary from city hall. “There would have been a lot of different ways for me to make money in a law firm or in a large organization,” Rudy says. “I wanted to work with my colleagues.”

Giuliani says he has several clients already and hopes to have a dozen by the year-end. “We're sort of discovering this as we go along,” he says, adding that it's harder to reform a government than it is a company. “I proved I can do the other. Now I really want to prove I can do this.” Not surprisingly, he hopes to find a niche with companies that want to be ready

for unexpected crises—the mayor's specialty. At city hall, Giuliani says, “we would hold drills in order to prepare ourselves for any crises we might have to face. It helped a lot, obviously, through a lot of different emergencies—West Nile virus, building collapses, fires, and certainly in 9-11.” Now Rudy's doing the same thing with clients, running through scenarios for both physical and financial disasters.

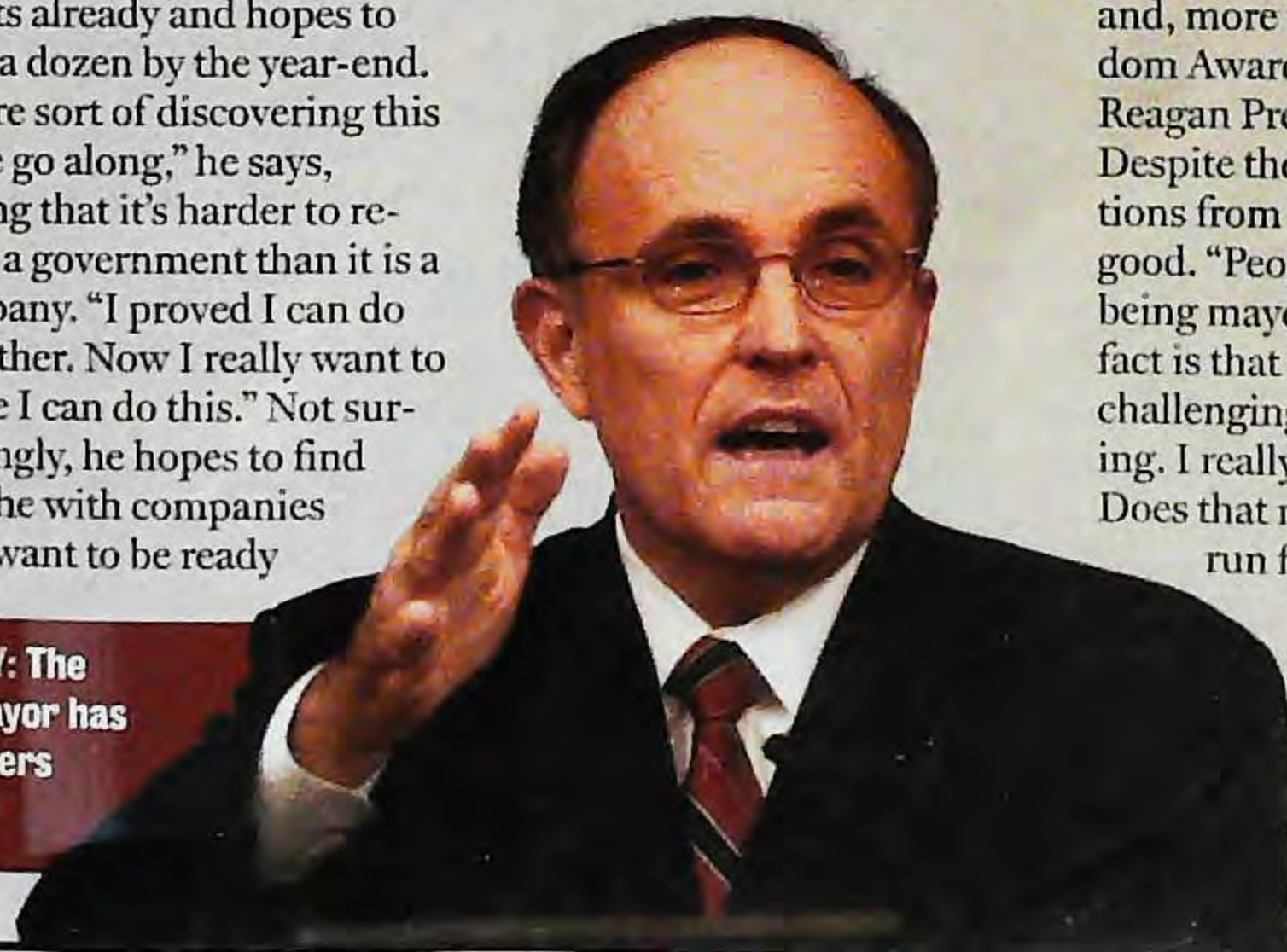
Giuliani won't say who his

clients are or how much he charges, but he does say that one of two troubled companies recently in the news—either Enron or Global Crossing, he won't say which—has come calling. Predictably, Giuliani says he wasn't able to take the client because he needed more control over its operation than the company was willing to give. “They have to be in a situation where they really want us to help them,” Giuliani says.

When he's not pitching clients, Giuliani is out collecting accolades like an honorary knighthood from the queen and, more recently, the Freedom Award from the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library. Despite the lingering emotions from September 11, life is good. “People ask me if I miss being mayor,” Rudy says. “The fact is that I find this very challenging and very interesting. I really don't miss it.” Does that mean he wouldn't run for office again?

“I've learned that life takes some strange turns,” Mr. Former Mayor says. Just call him cagey.

DO AS I SAY: The former mayor has traded voters for clients



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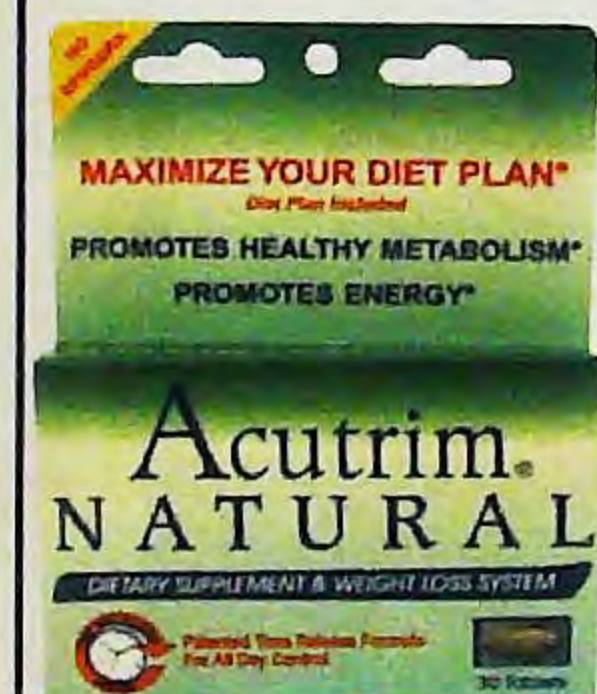
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Judgment Calls

HOW THE WSJ IS LIKE JELL-O

Like many graying brands, the once reserved newspaper hopes a new look will keep it young

By ROBERT J. SAMUELSON

IF YOU READ THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, YOU GOT A surprise April 9: a redesigned paper. It had a new section, Personal Journal, that was filled with what we in the business call "news you can use." One story asked, "Should overweight kids take pills?" Another explored American Express's mysterious, ultra-clique "black card" that presumes at least \$150,000 of spending a year. The paper was splashed with color, including a redesigned page one. Lots of small boxes (also in color) provided teasers for inside stories. We call this being "reader friendly"—yikes, in The Wall Street Journal!

Of course, the Journal has long had superior writing and reporting. It has also long spoken to some of its readers' personal needs with chatty columns like Sue Shellenbarger's "Work & Family" and Walt Mossberg's "Personal Technology." But through it all, the Journal maintained an almost-defiant austerity and plainness. Black and white; rare pictures. The Journal walked. It didn't skip or frolic. Well, the new Journal ends austerity. It may not yet frolic, but it's sure skipping. This involves more than journalism.

Every product must connect with a new generation of customers—or risk oblivion. The Journal is trying to keep pace with popular culture. Its past success shadowed the rise of the post-World War II managerial and professional class. In 1946 the Journal's circulation totaled 64,400; today it is nearly 1.8 million. But that class itself is changing, because it is bigger, has more women and reflects shifting popular sensibilities.

"The fundamental reason someone becomes loyal to something—beyond mindless habit—is because the brand contains meanings that resonate in a person's life," says Susan Fournier, a marketing specialist at the Harvard Business School. "Meanings do have a shelf life. They come out of culture, and as time goes on they get stale. Culture evolves."

Though abstract, this passes the reality test. Consider Cadillac. In 1950 it had roughly 75 percent of the luxury-car market. Elvis collected them. "Perhaps never before or since," said BusinessWeek in a recent cover story, "has a single brand so embodied the hopes and dreams of the consuming classes." No more. In 2001 Cadillac had less than 15 percent of its market. Its average buyer was 66, compared with 51 for Lexus and 47 for BMW. For younger buyers it symbolized stuffiness. Could Cadillac disappear entirely? Well, it might if the radical new design for Cadillac doesn't lure younger buyers.

Or take the nightly network-news programs of ABC, CBS and NBC. Twenty years ago it was inconceivable that one or all might go off the air. Now the possibility is openly discussed. From the 1991-92 TV season to the 2000-01 season, their audiences shrank by almost 25 percent, says Nielsen Media Research. (Since Sep-

tember 11 there's been some recovery.) You know who's watching by the ads, which plug anti-arthritis and anti-stroke pills.

The Journal's situation is hardly so dire. The paper's readership is hugely loyal and, for advertisers, immensely attractive. In 1999 readers had a median household income of \$162,000 (meaning that half were above that, half below) and a median net worth of almost \$1 million, according to a readership survey. The average 52 minutes spent with the paper was an impressive time commitment and vote of confidence. Still, there are disturbing trends.

First, circulation hasn't increased, despite the stock-market boom. Indeed, the paper's sales have drifted down, from 1.834 million in 1991 to 1.788 million in 2001. Readers are also aging. In 1985 the median age was 47; in 1999 it was 54. (To be fair, this largely reflects graying baby boomers. Since 1990 the median age of NEWSWEEK readers has risen five years, to 45.)

Second, the readership doesn't include many women, despite their job gains. In 1999 women represented 17 percent of Journal subscribers, up only slightly from 13 percent in 1985. (However, the small increase may hide a shift from a "legacy audience of rich widows and retirees" who maintained husbands' subscriptions to more managers, says Gennaro Nunziato of the Journal.)



No product is guaranteed immortality. While at an ad agency in the 1980s, Harvard's Fournier worked on a campaign for Jell-O. One of the nation's oldest brands (1897), it was languishing. "It seemed out of date," she says. "Everyone was into natural food, and it was artificial." For a while, ads urged moms to put fruit in their Jell-O. That flopped. Too preachy. Then there were some new recipes, and an old ad theme was resurrected: food as fun. Jell-O had been fun for moms as kids; now it could be fun for their kids. It was suddenly, says Fournier, a wonderful "bridge product"—a generational triumph of Jell-O's "wiggly, jiggly texture." (It didn't hurt that Jell-O also introduced ready-to-eat snacks in the 1980s and early 1990s.) On a typical day, supermarkets sell 1.75 million Jell-O-branded products.

The Journal faces a similar task of sustaining its appeal. In our era the boundaries separating work, leisure and family are blurring. People download their work files into home computers. At work they check on their kids and investments. Compartmentalization is tougher and rarer. People feel pressed for time—and, of course, "stressed"—not because they work so much harder but because they're tugged in many different directions. Old sex roles are being redefined and broadened: so are job descriptions. A paper that once catered to a narrow business and investing class with stock tables and exhaustive reporting must reach a larger crowd with new anxieties and, given its affluence, new demands.

It's not that younger customers are better than older customers. But they're necessary customers, and whether the Journal succeeds in capturing them will be the decisive test of its redesign. Good journalism and the economics of newspaper publishing must both ultimately submit to the dictum of legendary Wall Street Journal editor Barney Kilgore, who dominated the paper from 1941 to 1966 and once said: "The easiest thing in the world for any reader to do is stop reading." Still true.



This stealthy disease can incubate for decades. Now thousands of people are getting sick. By 2010 it may strike down more Americans each year than AIDS. BY GEOFFREY COWLEY

Hepatitis

The Insidious Spread of a Killer Virus

MERRILY ANDERSON was an actuary's dream when her life-insurance policy came up for renewal three years ago.

At 50 years old, she had enjoyed good health and a happy marriage all her adult life. There was no illness in her family. Her job was stable, and her lovely

Andi Thomas, 52

Once a medical technician, she now runs a hepatitis C hot line near Miami. She got the virus in the 1970s from needle pricks.

twin daughters had just turned 21. When the insurance agent suggested applying for a discounted rate, she supplied urine

and blood samples and figured she was a shoo-in.

She wasn't. When the agent called back, he said the whole appli-

cation had been nixed, and suggested she write the company to ask why. Anderson dashed off a note before leaving on a brief vacation with her husband, and the answer was lodged in a stack of mail when they got home. It said, policy denied: hepatitis C.

Hepatitis what? Few of us would know HCV from KFC. Yet this potentially lethal virus is now four times as widespread as HIV, and few of the

Ted Huffman, 46
Huffman probably got infected as a firefighter in Euclid, Ohio. 'I was always covered with someone's blood,' he says. A six-month course of interferon made him so depressed he started to think about suicide. 'Interferon kicked my a--.'

nation's 3 million to 4 million carriers have any idea they're infected. HCV, or hepatitis C virus, was not even discovered until 1988. And by the time scientists developed tests that could spot the pathogen, it had spread silently for decades. IV drug users were infected by the hundreds of thousands. So were people like Anderson, who received two pints of blood while giving birth in 1977. "Hepatitis C mirrors America," says Alan Brownstein of the American Liver Foundation. "It affects bus drivers, construction workers, even soccer moms."

It's no longer spreading in all those groups. Though IV drug users still infect each other through shared syringes, few of us stand much chance of contracting HCV today, even if we live or sleep with carriers. The blood supply has been safe for the past decade. And unlike the AIDS virus, HCV isn't easily passed from mother to child during delivery or breast-feeding. Yet the epidemic's impact is growing daily, as more and more Americans receive postcards from the past, announcing that their lives are in danger. "I can't go to a social event without meeting someone with hepatitis C," says epidemiologist Miriam Alter of the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta. People are surely saying the same thing in Los Angeles, where "Baywatch" star Pam Anderson recently announced she is infected, and in Nashville, where country singer Naomi Judd has given hep C a public face. At least a third of the nation's HIV patients

carry HCV as well, and either infection can exacerbate the other.

Hepatitis C is not a death sentence. Some 15 percent of infected people mount a strong enough immune response to throw off the virus completely. And though HCV stays active in most infected people, causing chronic liver inflammation, many suffer nothing worse than fatigue and mild depression. Yet roughly one patient in five develops cirrhosis, which can lead to liver failure. The need

for transplants is rising as a result (sidebar), and 10,000 Americans are dying each year. By the end of the decade, that annual toll could reach 30,000—twice the toll that AIDS takes in America each year.

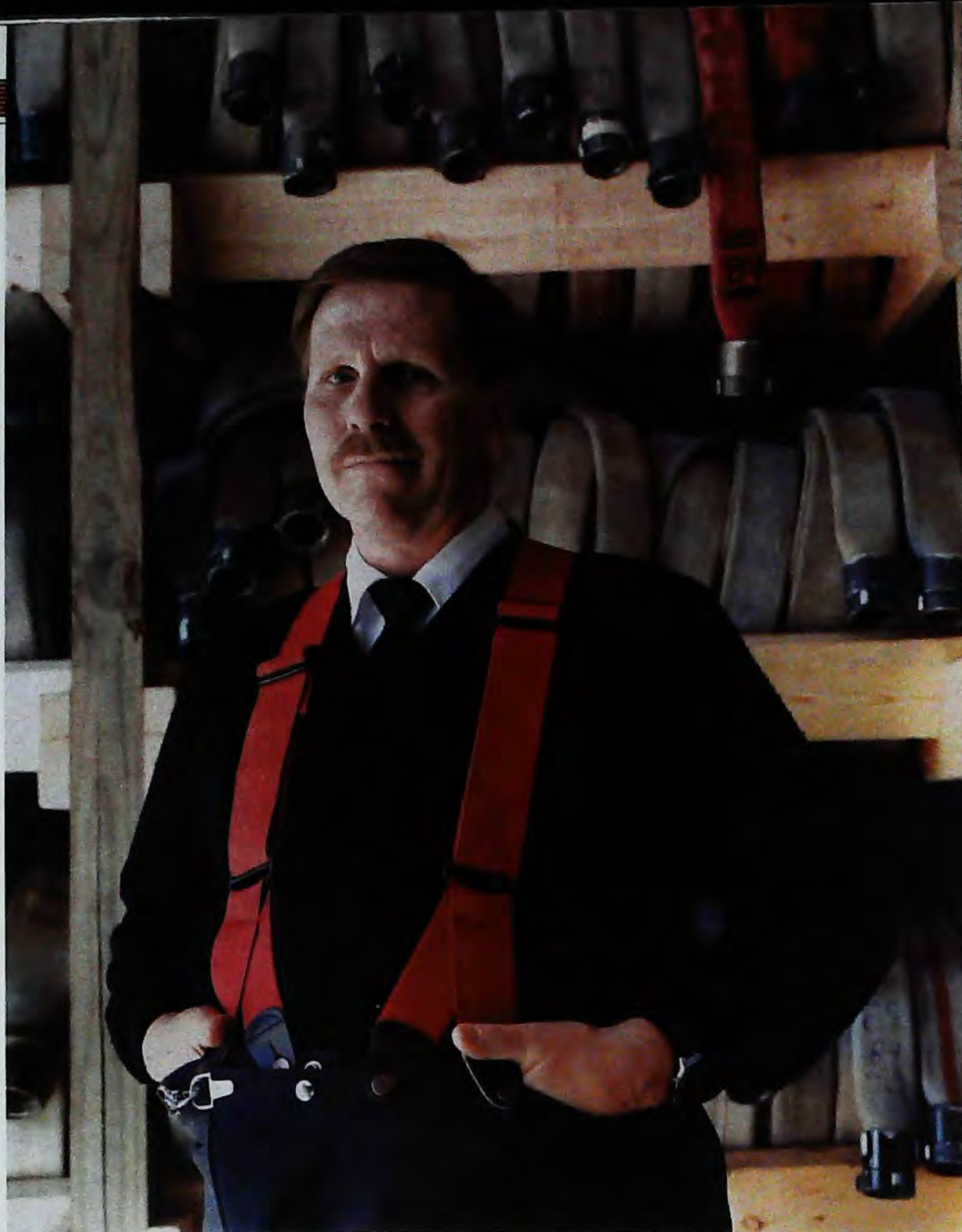
Despite its name, HCV is not related to the viruses that cause hepatitis A and hepatitis B. Though all three microbes cause in-

Pamela Anderson, 34

The television actress of 'Baywatch' fame believes she contracted the hep C virus while receiving a tattoo in Tahiti several years ago. She hasn't begun treatment but says she suffers no symptoms.



“There's a lot of ignorance. People think you can get hepatitis C from having sex, and yet that is very rare.”



David Marks, 53
The Beach Boys' original rhythm guitarist thought he'd broken a rib when he developed a stabbing pain in his side several years ago. What he had was a badly inflamed liver. Marks attributes his hepatitis infection to IV drug use during the '70s.

only minimal scarring. Dillan is now a 63-year-old retiree, living with his dog, cat and third wife in Petaluma, Calif. He suffers occasional bouts of fatigue, indigestion and brain fog, but he is grateful to have fared so well for 46 years. "My doctors tell me I won't die of liver problems," he says. "I'm one of the lucky ones."

Because HCV goes unnoticed for such long periods, the source of a person's infection is often hard to know. But there are several well-known risk factors. Anyone who received a blood transfusion before 1992 could easily have been exposed. The danger was especially high in the 1960s, when blood banks paid donors and screening was lax. HCV infected a third of all transfusion recipients between 1960 and '65, according to Dr. Adrian Di Bisceglie of St. Louis University, and the infection rate is close to 100 percent among hemophiliacs who received clotting factors before the mid-1980s.

Health workers with a history of accidental needle sticks are also at risk. No U.S. clinic would operate today without a secure receptacle for used medical implements, but plastic garbage bags were still the norm when Andi Thomas worked as a medical assistant in the late 1970s. She jabbed herself often during her two years at a multi-specialty clinic in Miami Beach. Her ALT levels shot up in 1979, but when antibody tests for hepatitis A and B came back negative, her doctor guessed that social drinking was to blame. Her HCV went undiagnosed until 1996, when another doctor saw her enzyme levels and recommended testing.

Today, thanks to blood screening and other safeguards, the risk of getting hep C is negligible in Western medical settings. But IV drug abuse poses an overwhelming risk. HCV replicates rapidly, reaching high concentrations in the blood of infected peo-

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means. Why has the C virus come to light so recently, and traveled the world so fast? Consider its habitat. Unlike the A virus (which spreads via fecal matter) or the B virus (which passes easily between sex partners), the C virus can't spread unless a carrier's blood enters another person's veins. Until recently, the opportunities for such commingling were limited. But as reusable syringes caught on in the 1940s and '50s, and hospitals began using blood as medicine, the once obscure parasite had a heyday. By the late 1960s, physicians were seeing liver disease in people who didn't have either of the known hepatitis viruses. Lacking a better name for the syndrome, they dubbed it "non-A, non-B" hepatitis.

Roger Dillan remembers hearing the phrase in the 1970s. He had fallen through

San Mateo, Calif., slashing his arm badly enough to require two operations and 13 pints of blood. Two decades later, his own blood was exhibiting high concentrations of an enzyme called ALT, which the liver produces during inflammation. Dillan was thriving in a job at IBM. He felt fine and his doctor didn't seem overly worried, so he got on with his life, marrying three times and fathering five kids over the years. He still felt fine in 1991 when the first HCV tests came out, so he waited until 1996 to check his own status. An antibody test confirmed that he'd been exposed, and a separate test showed that the hep C virus was actively replicating in his blood. But when doctors ran a needle between his ribs to extract and analyze a sample of liver tissue, they found that the infection had caused

Ted Huffman, 46

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EVAN AGOSTINI—(IMAGE DIRECT) (BOTTOM)

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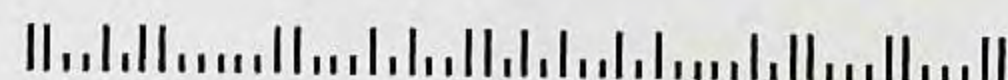
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David Marks, 53

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flammation (*itis*) of the liver (*hepar*), they're genetically distinct and spread by different means. Why has the C virus come to light so recently, and traveled the world so fast? Consider its habitat. Unlike the A virus (which spreads via fecal matter) or the B virus (which passes easily between sex partners), the C virus can't spread unless a carrier's blood enters another person's veins. Until recently, the opportunities for such commingling were limited. But as reusable syringes caught on in the 1940s and '50s, and hospitals began using blood as medicine, the once obscure parasite had a heyday. By the late 1960s, physicians were seeing liver disease in people who didn't have either of the known hepatitis viruses. Lacking a better name for the syndrome, they dubbed it "non-A, non-B" hepatitis.

Roger Dillan remembers hearing the phrase in the 1970s. He had fallen through

a glass door as a high-school kid in the 1950s while working at a gas station in San Mateo, Calif., slashing his arm badly enough to require two operations and 13 pints of blood. Two decades later, his own blood was exhibiting high concentrations of an enzyme called ALT, which the liver produces during inflammation. Dillan was thriving in a job at IBM. He felt fine and his doctor didn't seem overly worried, so he got on with his life, marrying three times and fathering five kids over the years. He still felt fine in 1991 when the first HCV tests came out, so he waited until 1996 to check his own status. An antibody test confirmed that he'd been exposed, and a separate test showed that the hep C virus was actively replicating in his blood. But when doctors ran a needle between his ribs to extract and analyze a sample of liver tissue, they found that the infection had caused

ple. And because a small amount of blood can harbor a large dose of virus, a nearly sterile syringe can easily spread the infection. The odds of contracting the AIDS virus from a single prick with a tainted needle are less than one in 300, notes Dr. Stuart Ray, an infectious-disease specialist at Johns Hopkins. The odds are 10 times that high if the needle harbors HCV. In Baltimore, where Hopkins researchers have followed IV drug users for the past dozen years, 20 percent are infected with HIV—80 percent with hep C. Most contract HCV within six months of their first encounter with a needle.

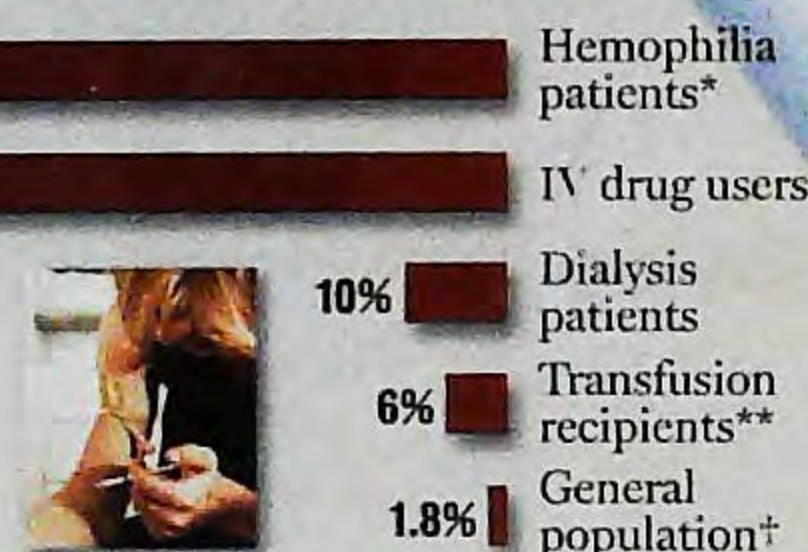
It's tempting to dismiss a needleborne epidemic as an underclass phenomenon, pitiable but irrelevant to middle-class life. Hepatitis C discredits that notion every day, as accomplished, upstanding baby boomers discover they've been carrying the virus since the days of the Sex Pistols, or even Jimi Hendrix. When LauRose Felicity got her diagnosis 10 years ago, she was 41 years old and working as an administrator at the University of Louisville Law School. She was also raising two adopted kids and practicing law on the side. Like countless children of the '60s, Felicity had toyed briefly with macramé and IV drugs on her way into adulthood ("I skipped the part where you arrive at heroin through a slow progression," she recalls). Now the unexpected bill was due. Lacking the energy to sustain a lawyer's life, she moved her family to San Francisco. She now teaches third grade and uses herbs and acupuncture to stay on top of her game.

In hindsight, the hazards of shared needles and unscreened blood are obvious. But a substantial proportion of HCV carriers—up to 40 percent by some estimates—don't fall neatly into known risk categories. Are there other dangers that we have yet to fully recognize? Did inoculation programs spread the virus among soldiers in Viet-

A Ticking Bomb

The hepatitis C virus can infect people for long periods without causing obvious symptoms, but prolonged inflammation eventually damages the liver. Deaths from the disease could triple over the next 20 years, as old infections reach clinical stages.

Who Has the Infection



Who Needs to Be Tested

- Yes • No
- IV drug users
- Blood recipients before 1992
- Infants born to infected mothers
- Exposed health-care workers
- People with multiple sex partners
- People with an infected steady partner

Treatments

PEG-Interferon	
SUCCESS	SIDE EFFECTS
30%-40%	Hair loss, fatigue, depression. Rare: heart failure, suicidal thoughts, liver damage.
PEG-Interferon/Ribavirin Combination	
SUCCESS	SIDE EFFECTS
45%-50%	Similar to above, and anemia.

Progression

1 Initial Infection

15% of patients mount a successful immune response and clear the virus from their bodies within the first year. 85% of patients retain the virus, becoming chronic carriers.



2 Inflammation

80% of carriers suffer chronic liver inflammation and minor scarring of the organ. 20% develop cirrhosis of the liver within 20 years. Healthy cells are replaced by scar tissue that can keep the organ from functioning properly.



3 Liver Failure

75% of those who develop cirrhosis suffer no serious effects from the scarring in their livers. 25% develop end-stage liver disease, which can involve cancer, require a transplant and result in death.

nam? Are tattoo pens spreading it today? Both are reasonable suspicions, but neither has been validated—and despite years of controversy, neither has been disproved.

Military recruits encountered the same hazards as civilians during the 1960s and '70s, and many contracted HCV. A 1999 study found an HCV rate of 6 percent to 8 percent among Vietnam vets at San Francisco's VA hospital—roughly four times the rate in the general population. The numbers are no great surprise; VA patients almost always have more health problems than civilians (or other veterans). But some infected vets deny having any known risk

factor. "People falsely assume that hepatitis C is due to poor personal conduct," says Bill Schwartz, a West Point graduate who served two tours in Vietnam and retired as a lieutenant colonel before joining Litton Industries as a marketing executive. Like many infected veterans, Schwartz believes the air guns used to vaccinate GIs in long queues may have spread droplets of blood from one person to another. Dr. Lawrence Deyton, the VA's chief public-health officer, is wary of jumping to such conclusions. "Was it combat wounds? Medical procedures? Use of the inoculation guns?" he asks. "We don't have the data yet. We sim-



Merrily Anderson, 53

The South Carolina homemaker discovered her infection while applying for a life-insurance policy three years ago. She was probably infected through a blood transfusion she received while delivering twins in 1977.

different possible risk factors. Drug use was the strongest predictor, but tattoos were in the same league, causing a sixfold increase in risk. And because tattooing was more prevalent than drug use, the researchers concluded that it actually accounts for more cases.

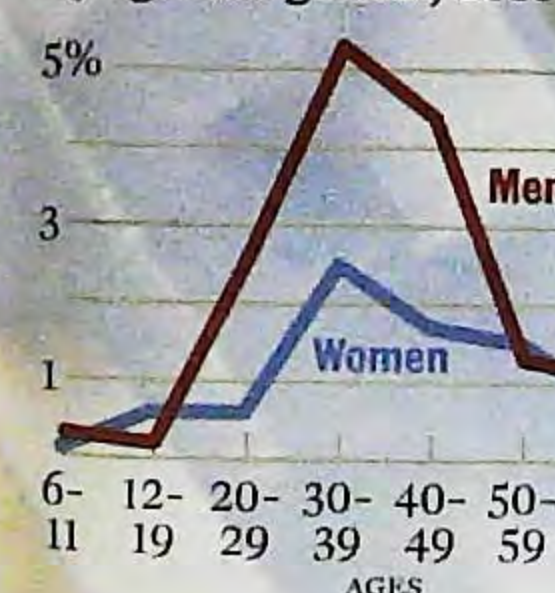
The catch is that other studies support the opposite conclusion. In one CDC survey, researchers questioned patients with acute (newly acquired) hepatitis C and found they were no more likely than other people to sport fresh tattoos. In another study, researchers surveyed 8,000 Texas college kids and found no link between dyed skin and HCV-positive blood tests. "There is no reason for every 25-year-old woman with a butterfly on her shoulder to get tested," says Alter, the CDC epidemiologist. "But people thinking of having their bodies pierced or tattooed should look for the highest standard of infection control. Anything that pierces your skin can transmit a bloodborne infection."

For people who discover they have HCV, the most pressing question is not where it came from but what to do about it.

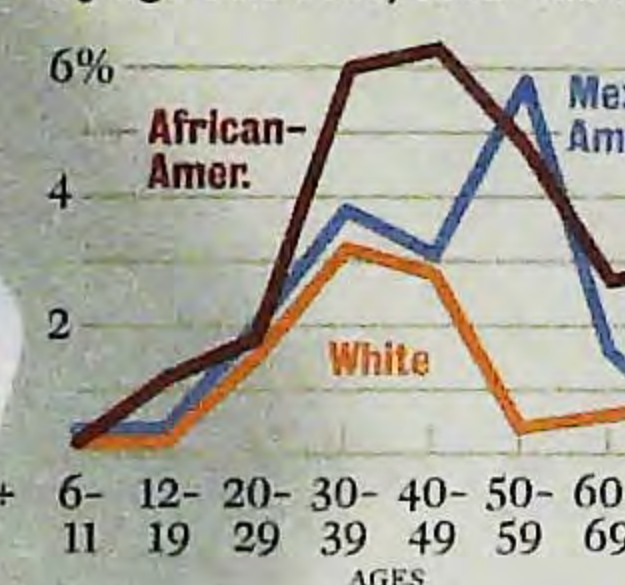
When the virus came to light in 1988 there was no treatment at all. Today there are several drugs on the market, but they're all variations on the same regimen: interferon (a naturally occurring protein used to boost the body's attack on the virus) plus ribavirin (a compound that helps slow viral replication). The combination is curative in some patients and useless in others, depending partly on which strain of the virus they have. But roughly half of all patients respond at least temporarily to the latest versions of the drugs. A 12-month course of treatment can cost \$26,000, and the common side effects are so awful that one

Affected Groups

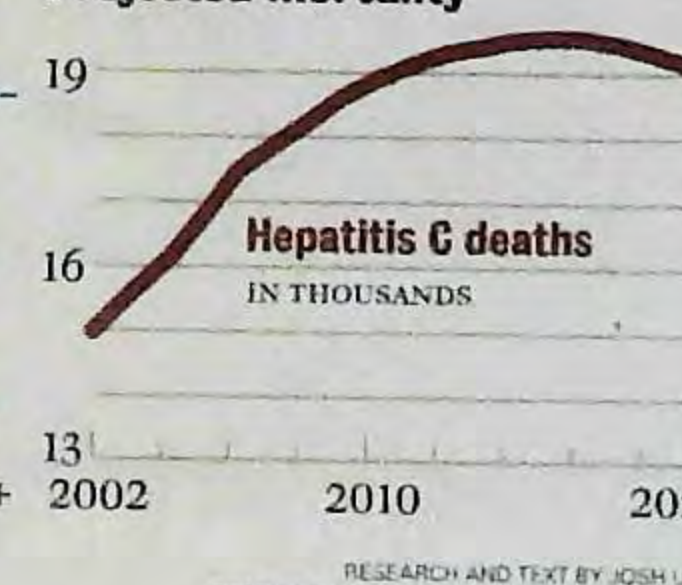
By age and gender, 2000



By age and race, 1988-1994



Projected mortality



SOURCES: MIRIAM ALTER, CDC; DR. STUART RAY, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE; JOHN WONG, ET AL., AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC HEALTH

ply don't know." The hazards of military service should become clearer this summer, when the VA releases a survey comparing HCV rates among veterans of various wars.

Meanwhile health officials and university scientists are pursuing the tattoo question, and drawing opposite conclusions. No one denies that contaminated tattoo needles could spread HCV, or that clean needles could infect people if used with contaminated tubing or ink wells. When Pam Anderson of "Baywatch" fame disclosed her own infection last month, she blamed it on a tattoo she received several years ago in Tahiti. By Anderson's account, she and her

husband at that time, Mötley Crüe drummer Tommy Lee, got branded with the same needle during a seaside vacation, and she got a virus she didn't know he had. Lee denies that he's even a carrier and says he has 1998 jail records to prove it. A fascinating quarrel, to be sure, but the real question in this tattoo-mad age is whether the needles imperil teenagers as well as celebrities.

Dr. Robert Haley, an internist and epidemiologist at the University of Texas Southwestern Medical Center, believes the risk is substantial. In a study published last year, he and a colleague tested 626 people for hepatitis C, then questioned them about

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Health

Bill Schwartz, 65

The retired lieutenant colonel spent 21 years in the military before joining Litton Industries as an international marketing executive. He suspects he contracted the virus through inoculations or barbers' nicks he received while on duty in Vietnam.

patient in seven abandons the regimen before finishing it.

Bill Schwartz, the West Point graduate, is among the lucky ones. When he got his diagnosis in 1997, interferon was still being used by itself. The year-long regimen was "as bad as West Point plebe year and Vietnam combat," he says—and it didn't control his infection. But Schwartz tried again when doctors offered him the new two-drug regimen, and the second treatment took. He now has a virus-free blood test to show for his persistence. Others don't get that far. Consider Ted Huffman, a strapping, 46-year-old firefighter from Euclid, Ohio. When he learned of his HCV infection in 1997, he had spent his career hauling people out of burning buildings. "I was always beat and scratched up and covered with somebody's blood," he says. "The stuff showered off. I never thought it was a big deal. I thought I was tough." But as Huffman puts it, "Interferon kicked my a--."

Huffman was suffering only mild fatigue when he got his diagnosis, and his liver was still in good shape. But tests showed that the virus was replicating wildly in his blood, so his doctor prescribed interferon. Huffman soon found himself flat on his back, too weak to get out of bed and yet incapable of sleeping for days at a time. When he had the strength to get around, he lacked the will. In short, he says, "I was a freakin' psychotic, suicidal mess." He contemplated shooting himself or driving his car into a bridge abutment but managed to

stay the course for six months—only to find that it had failed. Today he works as a fire-academy administrator. He may try treatment again if his liver starts to falter, but he swears he'll take his interferon with Prozac.

If Huffman is lucky, interferon will be optional by the time he needs treatment. The market for hep C treatment is now exploding, and drugmakers have several new compounds in the works. At least three companies are developing protease inhibitors that could help suppress HCV just as similar drugs have

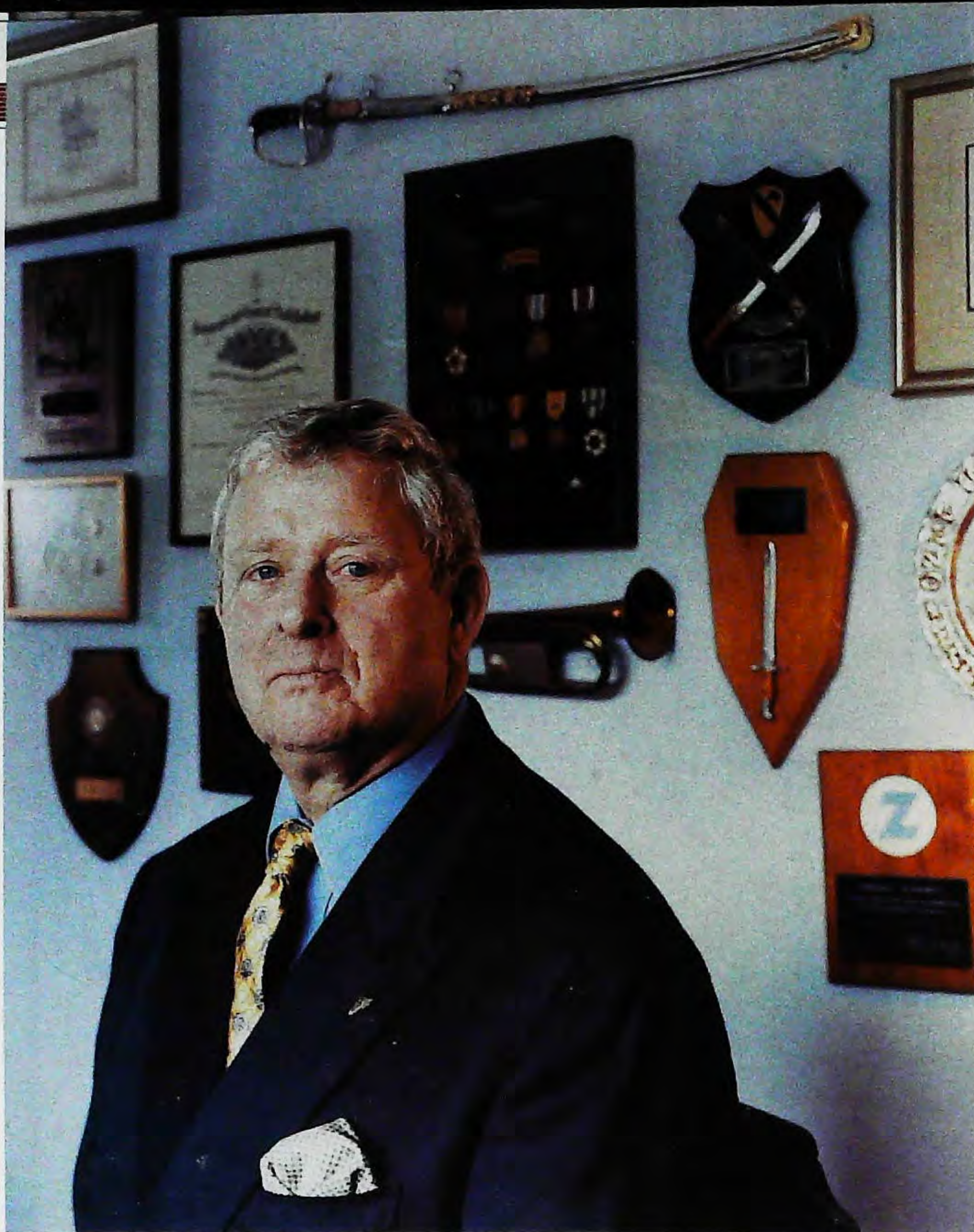
helped handcuff the AIDS virus. And Schering-Plough, the current leader in hep C treatment, is developing molecules that could be combined with protease inhibitors to create the kind of multidrug cocktail that has proved so effective against HIV. "The parallels between these two [epidemics] are just phenomenal," says the VA's Deyton. "We're today in hepatitis C

Naomi Judd, 56

The legendary country singer believes she got infected from a needle prick while working as a nurse. The illness sapped her strength in the early '90s, but she responded to treatment and is now in remission.



“Not only are you ill but your mind is overwhelmed ... Most patients get depressed. I took an antidepressant...”



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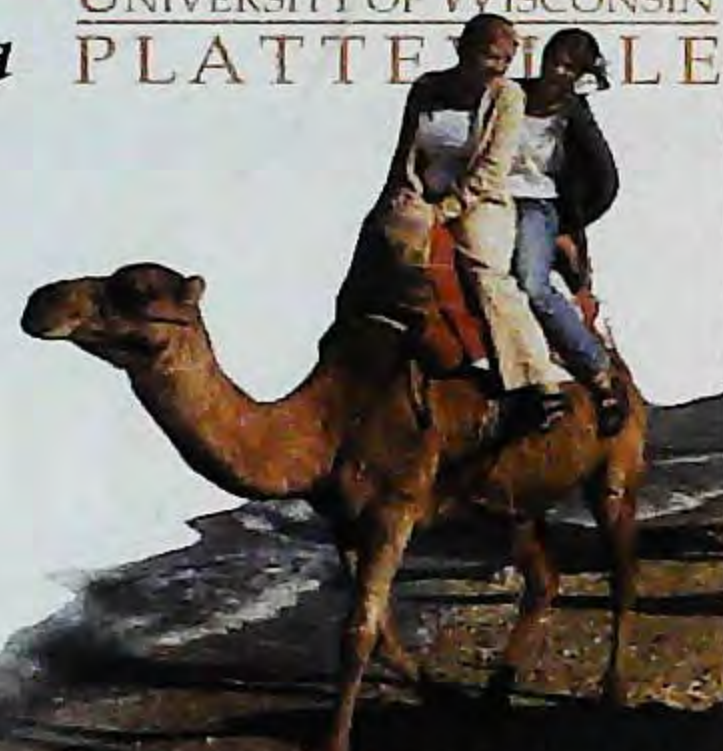
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where we were in HIV 10 years ago, where we had only one or two drugs that were very toxic and not very effective. If a patient's liver is not in trouble, it may be perfectly appropriate to watch and wait for something better to come along."

David Marks has employed that strategy since he learned he was infected four years ago. The former Beach Boy played rhythm guitar on all the group's early classics—"Surfin' Safari," "Surfin' U.S.A.," "Surfer Girl," "Little Deuce Coup"—and later worked as a session musician, recording albums with performers from Warren Zevon

to the New Christy Minstrels. He did his share of snorting and shooting during the carefree '70s, and never lost his love of booze or music. The wake-up call came in 1998, when Marks returned from a Beach Boys reunion tour with what felt like a broken rib but turned out to be an inflamed liver. "The doctor gave me six months if I didn't clean up my act," he recalls. "If I did, he said I might hang around for a while."

So Marks hunkered down with his wife in Saratoga Springs, N.Y., and gave up gin for herbal potions. He eats carefully now, and takes a lot of naps. "Yesterday I slept

for 14 hours," he says. "My energy level is way low and there's a certain amount of depression. I find myself gazing into space." He worries that treatment would only rob him of the energy to keep up with his projects. He's still making music, and working to start a scholarship fund for the children of hep C patients. And despite his ill health, he still takes pleasure in the effort and in life. "This disease has finally forced me to take care of myself," he says. Millions of us could soon be saying the same thing.

With KAREN SPRINGEN, ANNE UNDERWOOD, NADINE JOSEPH, JOAN RAYMOND and JOHN HORN

As demand for transplants soars, end-stage hepatitis C patients turn to their family members for a last chance

Risking Life to Give Life

BY MARY CARMICHAEL

THE TWO MIDDLE-AGED women sitting in Dr. Lewis Teperman's transplant-surgery office are sisters, but they don't look it. One, jaundiced and frail, is waiting to die of hepatitis C-induced cirrhosis. The other, flushed and fit, is waiting to save her. The healthy woman will find out this week if she is eligible to donate half her liver to her sister, thus endangering her own life. "The doctors keep asking me if I know the risks," she says, laughing and shaking her fist like an overreager actor. "Death is on the line!"

By the time a patient gets on the list for a liver transplant, death is almost always on the line. As of April 3, the list was 17,641 names long; at least a third of those have end-stage hepatitis C, and within the year almost 2,000 will die waiting. Though more than half of Americans tell pollsters they have signed donor cards, the numbers of available cadaver organs don't add up. So in the past five years, doctors have resorted to a miracle that ought to be unnecessary: living-donor liver transplants.

Adult live liver transplantation is still radical and rare, and probably will always be. Last

year just 2 percent of donated livers came from healthy friends and relatives of patients. If liver transplants from cadavers are grueling, a living-donor operation is twice so, taking up to 18 hours total. It is far more complex than a living-donor kidney transplant, and also ethically trickier. The surgery defies the doctor's cardinal rule to do no harm—new statistics show that 10 percent of donors will have complications, and 1 percent will die. At least two living donors have needed transplants themselves after surgeons took too much tissue. The January death of a donor at Mount Sinai Hospital in New York, the leading U.S. center for the procedure, was another grim reminder that no strong medicine comes risk-free.

But a 1 percent mortality risk pales next to the 100 percent certain death of a loved one. It is that math that made John Russell, 24, beg his mother, Dee, to let him volunteer as a



HOPE IN HAND: A liver transplant in progress

donor when she was diagnosed with hepatitis C last year. Dee Russell has learned to live with her disease. She's not sure she could live with herself, though, if John suffered from the operation. "He's my only child," she says. "His response is, 'Well, you're my only mom'."

Even if John is a match, his

mother will face more obstacles. A live-donor liver transplant can cost up to \$500,000—twice as much as a cadaveric transplant—and that excludes the \$30,000 in anti-rejection drugs required annu-

ally for life. Some hospitals accept only patients who can pay upfront, and some insurance—including Russell's original policy—covers a mere fraction of the cost. Russell moved to California for better coverage; she can afford surgery now. But it still may not save her. "Almost all patients will reinfect their new liver," says Teperman, director of transplants at New York University Medical Center. "The same damage could happen again in five years."

In those five years, drugs called pegylated interferons may become available to protect transplant livers from reinfection. And halving livers from cadavers may in effect double the available organs. But as the hepatitis C epidemic wreaks its slow-motion havoc, demand for liver transplants is expected to jump by 500 percent by 2008. Without more donors giving life to strangers, a lot more brothers and sisters, sons and daughters will have to put their own lives on the line.

The International Space Station gets its backbone—but will it ever be anything more than an expensive toy? BY FRED GUTERL AND ADAM ROGERS

BY THE TIME LEE MORIN had rocketed up in the space shuttle Atlantis last week, he had rehearsed his mission for more than a year in NASA's Neutral Buoyancy Lab. But sloshing around in a big bathtub doesn't really prepare you for the actual experience of floating in space while assembling the International Space Station. Being in Earth's orbit is more like free-falling. Everything is in motion. Below you (or is it above you?) continents and oceans move by with unsettling speed. The sun rises and sets each hour of the day, and the shadows it casts move eerily with it. Yank too hard

on your "torque multiplier" (wrench) and you find yourself spinning out of control. Even veteran crew mate Jerry Ross, who's making his record-setting seventh shuttle trip, allowed that the mission would be a "challenge"—and for a spaceman, that's downright emotive.

Whatever qualms Morin may have been keeping to himself, he overcame them last Saturday. As scripted, he passed through the station's air lock and slipped his feet into special restraints on the tip of the station's robotic arm. Dangling 250 miles above Earth, he took a deep breath and set to work—attaching instruments, connecting power cables, tightening bolts—as the arm pulled him from one end of the station to the other. On Tuesday, Morin, Ross and two other spacewalkers are scheduled to finish attaching a 44-foot, 14-ton truss—the first piece of the station's 300-foot "backbone." When completed in 2004, it will hold giant solar panels and elaborate computer equipment to support new research modules from Japan and Europe. It will also transform the ISS from a meager orbiting laboratory not much better than

As the Station Turns

Although it is far from complete, the International Space Station has run billions of dollars over budget. Here's what's been built so far.



WALKABOUT: Astronaut Rex Walheim goes to work

Russia's (now dead) Mir into a truly permanent outpost that can support cutting-edge scientific research.

There's also a chance that by the time this big orbital toy is finished, nobody will be allowed to play in it. NASA head Sean O'Keefe, an appointee of President Bush,

has ordered the agency to finish the truss and stop. There's too little money budgeted to sustain the additional four crew members needed to man the research labs. And since the three astronauts currently on board have their hands full running the station, all that fancy equipment could simply

POWER: These 240-foot solar panels (Nov. 2000) can provide the energy needs for a three-person crew.

ZVEZDA SERVICE MODULE: An early cornerstone (July 2000), this Russian unit has provided life support and flight control.

CANADARM2: The robot arm (April 2001) has grippers on each end and moves around the station like an inchworm.

TRUSS SEGMENT: Astronauts this week finish the first piece of the backbone. It will eventually contain equipment for future lab modules.

DESTINY: This U.S.-built module (Feb. 2001) will be the station's only research lab, until Europe and Japan launch theirs.

put the project under strict cost controls, or else—may be just the kick in the pants the agency needs. At a time when the CIA is scrambling to hire Arab-speaking operatives and the Defense Department is asking for billions to fight terrorism, the station has begun to seem like a luxury the country can do without.

Since the start of the ISS project, NASA has been burning through its budget. In 1993 the station was supposed to cost \$17.4 billion. By 1998 it was up to \$26 billion. To make up the shortfall, "the program engineers suck up all the money meant for scientific experiments," says space-policy expert John Logsdon. The jig is up. A cost-containment task force said in November that the \$5 billion NASA said it needs to finish the station by 2006 is "not credible." And why should it be? NASA's accounting is abysmal. Three audits in the past decade have failed to explain how much the agency spends, and on what. "If NASA is guilty of any sin, it is being overly optimistic and not realistic," says Congressman Sherwood Boehlert. "They perform exceptionally well in technology. They have not done as well in management."

Given NASA's woes, is it really necessary to send people into space? Humans make difficult cargo: they need pressurized capsules and spacesuits, and endless supplies of oxygen and water. Proponents argue that human hands are needed to do zero-G research—like growing ultrapure semiconductor crystals or studying how the body ages. But if supporting research is already too pricey, the station's only justification is to keep alive the dream of colonizing the solar system. For this enterprise, the station is a first draft—rough, inefficient and expensive—of a permanent, self-sustaining outpost in space. "There's no other way to really understand the problems of long-duration human space flight than having people up there for long durations," says Tom Young, former head of Martin Marietta and chairman of the task force. The ISS is already teaching lessons that would come in handy should NASA ever send astronauts to Mars. For now, that dream seems as earthbound as ever.

A Delicate Challenge

go to waste. Without the capability of doing science, the station would serve merely to establish a human presence in space. That may be good enough for space fans, but it would vaporize the station's political support. "This is a station that promised to do eight different missions, and now it's down

to one," says Indiana congressman Tim Roemer, who's tried to kill the project several times. "Is that worth \$125 billion?"

A halt in construction would be a drastic measure. It would outrage Europe and Japan. It would cripple America's manned space program. But O'Keefe's ultimatum—

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A new study by an expert on Web design shows what's wrong—and even dangerous—about kids' sites **'Don't Dumb Them Down'**

WEB-DESIGN GURU JAKOB NIELSEN this week is releasing "Usability of Websites for Children," a study that analyzes how youngsters (ages 5-11) navigate their way through popular kids' sites. The report (coauthored by Shuli Gilutz, his colleague at the Nielsen Norman Group's "user experience think tank") debunks a number of myths. It seems that kids aren't naturally adept at computers—often they get more confused than even their parents do. On the other hand, unlike grown-ups, they actually read directions. From his home in Mountain View, Calif., Nielsen spoke about the results with NEWSWEEK's Steven Levy.

Why did you do the study?

Most designs for children today are based on folklore or guesswork. We wanted to see what normal kids *do* rather than what adults say they do. One of the reasons we have misleading myths is, too many industry people generalize from their own child—I can't tell you how many conferences I've been to where tech executives say, "Kids have no problem; let me tell you about my 7-year old."

Which result surprised you most?

The response to advertisements. Children don't distinguish between ads and content. To them, it's all content, it's all information. A grown-up user clicks on an ad banner maybe once a year, but children do it all the time. They see a banner with a Pokémon character and they think it's a game. They don't realize it takes them to a different site.

You also found that kids weren't as naturally skillful on computers as we thought.

We have this myth that children can just do it. That's not true. For instance, because kids have literal thinking, they don't scroll down the page. It's "out of sight, out of mind." And when they encounter error messages, they just ignore it and go someplace else.

Yet you found that kids will read directions, whereas adults usually skip them.

Kids are more accepting of being learners. It's almost as if it's their job. But they are only willing to read a paragraph or so.

You say that kids have more success negotiating certain sites designed for adults.

Yes, this was particularly true for Amazon and Yahoo, which have the highest degree of compliance with standard guidelines for Web usability.

Why are many kids' sites hard to use?

Kids like colorful moving screens, but designers go overboard and make controls too complicated as well. Or they try to jazz up the interface, using an overly hip vocabulary in describing options you can go to. Designers think that because the users



SITES FOR MITES: Nielsen wants kid-savvy Web design

are kids, everything has to be dumbed down, but it's not true.

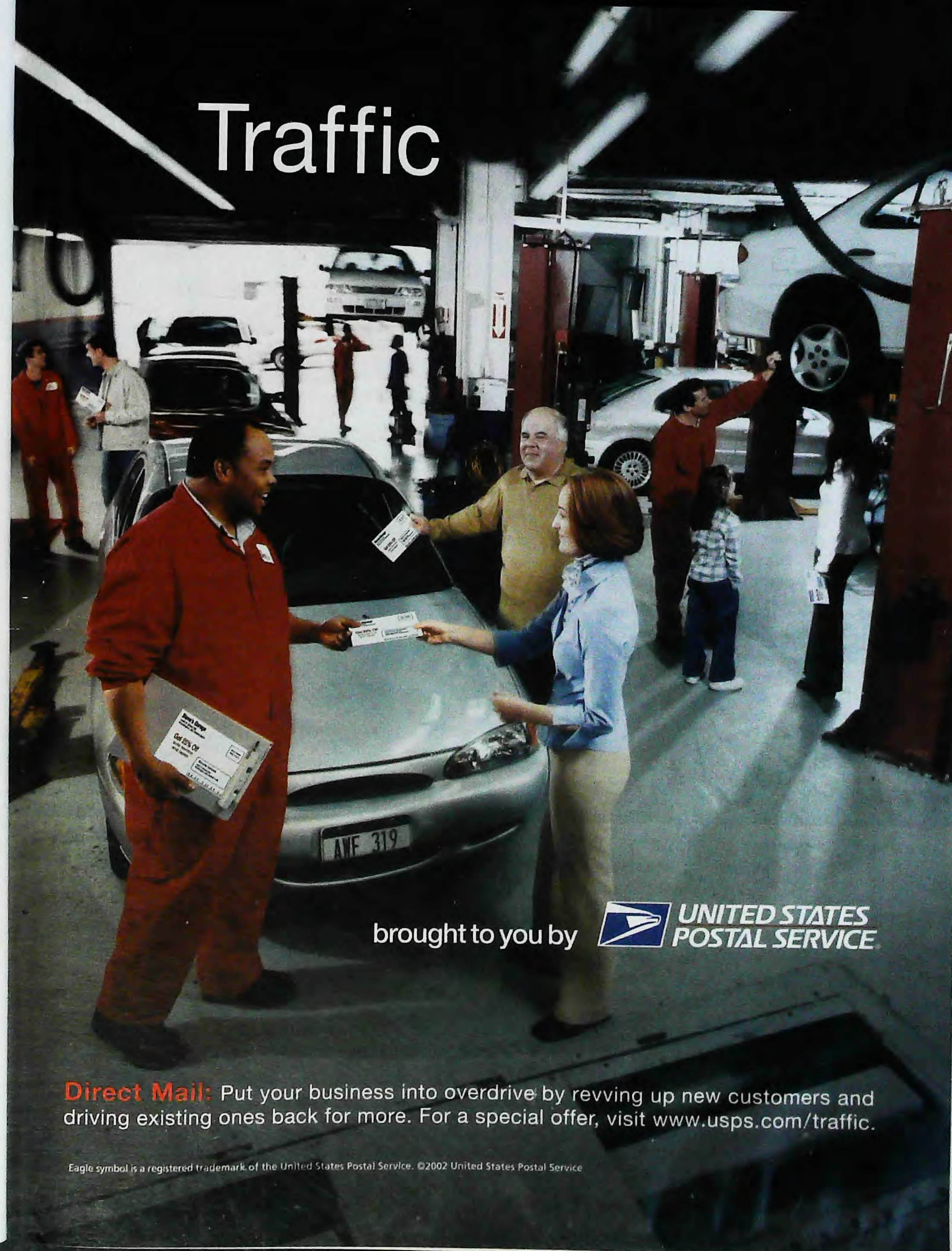
Reassuringly, the kids in your study resisted attempts to get personal information.

It's surprising how much they are aware of privacy issues, and that they shouldn't give out their name or phone number. Parents and teachers have told them in no uncertain terms about dangers of the Internet.

Now that kids have learned that, should we teach them how to deal with ads?

This is where we have a big educational mission. My main advice is for parents to sit down with kids at the computer, teach them to recognize ads. A Disney character in an ad doesn't mean that you'll get a game or cartoon—it just means someone rented the character to sell a product.

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1932: The Original
Boris Karloff starred in the first 'Mummy' film, a horror classic about a corpse looking for love

1999: The Remake
It took nine years to make a new 'Mummy.' The payoff: \$155 million.



2001: The Sequel
'The Mummy Returns' fared better than its predecessor: \$202 million



2002: The Spinoff
After a cameo in 'The Mummy Returns,' The Rock stars in 'The Scorpion King'



2002: The Merchandise
'The Scorpion King' will be accompanied by a raft of collectibles, including comic books



2002: The Action Figure
And you thought his acting was plastic! The Rock gets miniaturized.



2004: More Sequels
A new installment of 'The Mummy' or 'The Scorpion King' could appear in two years

A good movie isn't good enough. Hollywood craves prequels, sequels, toys and theme-park rides.
BY JOHN HORN

FRANCHISE\$ FEVER!

HOW QUICKLY DOES SUCCESS BREED IMITATION? IN Hollywood, it takes about 48 hours. In the summer of 2000, Universal Pictures chairman Stacey Snider and production president Kevin Misher sat in Universal's eighth-floor screening room, checking out raw footage from the set of the sequel "The Mummy Returns." On-screen, the wrestler The Rock ran around in a loincloth, ate a bug and spoke some Arabic. Snider and Misher knew they were witnessing the birth of a new action hero. They immediately dangled \$5 million in front

of The Rock to star in—let's see, what would you call it?—a prequel to the sequel. Fast as a sandstorm sweeps through the Valley of the Dead, "The Scorpion King" will blow into theaters this Friday and almost certainly be a smash, even before you factor in the promotional tie-ins, DVD sales and Universal theme-park ticket sales. "This is one of the only movies I can think

of that was completely engineered to extend the franchise," Snider says. "We acted—I don't want to say recklessly, but certainly precipitously."

Moviemaking has long been a gambler's profession, where million-dollar wagers are laid down, and often lost, with lightning speed. These days, studios are trying to make the movie business as predictable and

profitable as serving up Mocha Frappuccinos. Take a look at the multiplex marquee this summer, and you'll see the studios are behaving more like Starbucks than Caesars Palace. Rather than focusing on challenging dramas or dark comedies, every film company is churning out stories that are so easily identifiable that they can be completely understood by their titles alone: "Spider-Man." "Star Wars: Episode II—Attack of the Clones." "Scooby-Doo." They're called franchise films, and they are revolutionizing the way Hollywood does business.

Traditionally, filmmaking begins with a screenplay, a director and a cast. A franchise movie typically works backward from the Happy Meal to the plot. Warner Bros. launched "Scooby-Doo," which is due out in June, when its consumer-products division figured out that a movie about the studio's crimefighting pooch would bring in an

additional \$30 million in profits from coloring books and stuffed animals. "We want movies that enhance the value of a core asset," says Warner Bros. president Alan Horn. Remember when movies used to become theme-park rides? Now theme-park rides become movies. Disney will release "The Country Bears" in July, and is hard at work on films based on Disneyland attractions "The Haunted Mansion" and "Pirates of the Caribbean." "You are talking about Disney icons that thousands of millions of people have experienced at our parks," says Disney studios chairman Dick Cook. "They both rank as top attractions and they lend themselves to a movie. You are capitalizing on what is a part of pop culture right now. And history has shown that if you take something out of pop culture and do it well, the rewards can be tremendous." For the studio, he means. Audiences, meanwhile, may have

to settle for some pretty familiar fare.

Franchises *should* be the greatest, most enchanting thing that ever happened to audiences. What could be better than a movie that never ends? (Assuming it's not "Glitter.") The blockbusters that inspired the current mania—"Star Wars" and "Raiders of the Lost Ark"—were rollicking entertainments, and returning for each new installment was practically a communal rite. These days, though, Hollywood is so obsessed with sequels, videos and plastic action figures that originality is almost an afterthought. MGM is dusting off "The Pink Panther," Columbia, "I Dream of Jeannie" and DreamWorks, "Billy Jack." And do you think Universal is anywhere

near finished milking "The Mummy"? The franchise began its life as a 1932 Universal movie of the same name. Now the studio is discussing "Scorpion King 2" (you may need a spreadsheet to follow the chain: it'd be a sequel to the prequel of a sequel of a remake) and a "Xena"-like television show based on the character Cassandra (a spinoff from a prequel to a sequel of a remake). Studios obviously run the risk of beating franchises to death, but, like the Mummy, a dead franchise doesn't have to stay dead. Warner Bros. knows that the debacle that was "Batman & Robin" ruined the Batman franchise for an entire generation. So it's just waiting for a new generation to show up.



1969: The TV Cartoon

There were 310 episodes. They still air in 145 countries.



2000: The Merchandise

Warners Bros. realized it could move a lot of 'Scooby-Doo' toys



2002: The Movie

The Great Dane is animated, the rest of the cast are flesh and blood

Hollywood isn't trying to please critics with franchises: it's trying to please Wall Street. In this new era of vertical integration, investors love the franchise because it kicks in revenue every step of the way. MGM vice chairman Chris McGurk, who estimates his James Bond franchise is worth nearly \$2 billion, is laboring to turn "Legally Blonde" into a franchise. He's pursuing both a sequel titled "Legally Blonder"—she runs for president!—and a Broadway musical. He's also looking to turn "Rocky" into a musical. Believe it or not, most studio executives will admit that, at some point, enough is enough. "A good idea run amok is no longer a good idea," says DreamWorks co-founder Jeffrey Katzenberg. "You are trying to bring an engineering mind-set to a business that is fundamentally organic and not engineerable." Of course, Katzenberg is at work on "Shrek 2" at the moment, though you can hardly blame him. "Shrek" was a certifiably great creation, and when the final DVD, video, TV, soundtrack and merchandise receipts are tallied for the movie, DreamWorks will pocket \$1 billion in profits. Not revenues. Profits.

The studios like to say the franchise windfall has a trickle-down effect, that it helps fund more daring and serious films. "Listen, dramas by themselves are tough," Universal's Snider admits, even though the studio won the best-picture Oscar for "A Beautiful Mind." "But for us, those franchise movies embolden us to take other

chances." Do they really, though? Take a look at what's on-screen, in living color. Some filmmakers have been warned not to use the "D word" (for drama) when pitching movies, and people complain year after year that movies are getting worse. "The studios all have gotten away from interesting filmmakers who are working with interesting stories," says Andrew Kosove, whose Alcon Entertainment funded Christopher Nolan's thriller "Insomnia" when Warner Bros. wouldn't. Equally worrisome, companies that used to embrace risky fare are turning timid. Miramax, once the art-house darling, is working on sequels to "Dirty Dancing" and "Pokémon" and remakes of "Seven Samurai" and "The Green Hornet."

To see how dramatically the franchise formula has rearranged studio priorities, look no farther than Columbia Pictures. Two years back, Columbia's lineup included "Girl, Interrupted," "28 Days" and "The End of the Affair." These days, Columbia's releases include "Spider-Man," "Men in Black 2," "Stuart Little 2" and "XXX," the last of which was designed by the production company Revolution Studios as a new James Bond series for Gen Y. Producers are working on follow-ups to "Spider-Man" and "XXX" before the movies even open. "We were certainly making more adult dramas a couple of years ago," concedes Columbia's chairman, Amy Pascal. "But it's not like all of our movies are franchise movies. We are hedging our bets."

The most thrilling and satisfying franchises continue to be born the old-fash-

ioned way: audiences see a movie they love and ask for more. When Warner Bros. released "The Matrix," the studio feared the movie would baffle audiences and bomb. Now it's hard to think of projects more eagerly anticipated than parts two and three, both due next year. And it's impossible to imagine Austin Powers wearing out his welcome. Mike Myers's shagadelic sequel made more money in its opening weekend than the first film grossed in its entire run.

If you're looking for reasons to be optimistic about the future, think of it this way: Hollywood has put such a staggering number of new franchises in motion that some of them are bound to be good. In January, director Ang Lee and writer James Schamus, the team behind the elegant and kinetic "Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon," will bring us "The Incredible Hulk," starring Australian newcomer Eric Bana and Oscar-winner Jennifer Connelly. And next year the promising writer-director Mark Steven Johnson will unveil "Daredevil." The movie, which is designed to launch a long series, is based on the comic books about a blind lawyer by day (Ben Affleck) who turns crimefighter at night and battles a villain (Colin Farrell) with deadly aim. One recent day on the set, Johnson and producer Gary Foster peer into a bank of monitors as Farrell, with the help of some invisible wires, zips darts at a dartboard without even looking at his target. "There are five movies in this," Foster says, as Farrell's darts hit the bull's-eye one after another. All any franchise could ask for is that kind of aim. ■

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Profile

an comics have
 iring stereotypes

African-Americans, Asians and Hispanics—carrying their culture from the margins to the mainstream. “Since September 11, when people ask me about my ethnicity I look them straight in the eye and say, ‘I’m Italian,’” jokes Jobrani during his set. He was born in Iran but raised in the United States. “We’re all named Tony now.”

Comedy Store owner Mitzi Shore (Pauly’s

mom) launched “Arabian Knights” a year ago when she recognized Middle Eastern stand-up as an untapped comedy vein. Shore, who gave Leno and Letterman their start, had the comics working the club’s main room until September 11. She suggested all four go back to the smaller rooms and refocus their acts. Says Jobrani, “I thought I’d never be funny again.” But when they returned to the big stage in November, interest in the comics skyrocketed.

Reaction has been just as encouraging across the country. Ray Hanania, a former open-miker, just landed a spot at Zanies—Chicago’s biggest club. “I’m married to a Jew,” says Hanania, who’s never at a loss for material. “Unless another Palestinian comic with a Jewish wife surfaces, I pretty much got that market cornered.”

It’s ironic, of course, that while hate crimes against Arab- and Mus-

lim-Americans have risen 300 percent in the past six months, so has interest in their comedy. Hanania hopes he and his peers can defuse a little tension, the way Jewish comedy punctured the anti-Semitism of the vaudeville era. “They didn’t eliminate anti-Semitism, but they offset it,” he says. “We can do that, too.” According to Ahmed, the scales may already be tipping. “This woman came up to me after a show in a very military, conservative part of San Diego and said, ‘Thanks a lot. I never thought I’d laugh at this stuff. I never knew Arabs could be so funny.’” Another stereotype bites the dust: she was expecting them to bomb.

Osama joke—“The only virgin he’ll get in the afterlife is Janet Reno”—they’re giving up the big laughs. For the next two hours at the Sunset Strip club, Palestinian-American Aron Kader, Iranian-American Maz Jobrani and Armenian-American Sam Tripoli riff on their cultures while the mainly white and Hispanic crowd eats it up. Ahmed says they couldn’t get arrested before 9-11. To which Jobrani jokes, “It’s easy now.”

The Western and the Muslim worlds may seem more alienated than ever, but there’s a growing demand for humor that bridges the gap. The Comedy Store’s “Arabian Knights” shows regularly sell out—“I know I’m not a Middle Easterner,” says Tripoli, “but we are all brothers with unibrows”—and Arab-American comics are landing prime spots in clubs nationwide. “All of a sudden we’re topical,” says Kader. “Before, it was like, ‘Why are you talking about Arabs? Nobody cares about them.’ Now everyone’s listening.”

Tonight at the Comedy Store, airport-profiling and cavity-search jokes get the big laughs, while evoking stereotypes comes in second. “Any Arabs in the audience?” Ahmed asks the crowd. “Raise your hand,

throw a rock, burn a flag.” Kader’s set gets a little more political. “The problem in the Middle East is that the Jews and Arabs think they’re God’s chosen people,” he tells the audience. “If you are God’s chosen people, why is there nothing but war and death over there? Look around, you’re in the desert! I mean, have you been to Barbados or Hawaii? It’s gorgeous over there. Maybe the Samoans are the chosen people. Have you thought of that?”

Kader & Co. represent a new twist on an American tradition of self-deprecating and edgy ethnic humor. They are doing for Middle Easterners what Richard Pryor, Margaret Cho and John Leguizamo did for



IN THE SPOTLIGHT: Yucking it up with Ahmed, Tripoli, Jobrani and Kader

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ENTERTAINMENT

Laughter's New Profile

Since September 11, Arab-American comics have been wowing crowds—and puncturing stereotypes

BY LORRAINE ALI

PROFILING. DETAINMENT. Hate crimes. It's no fun being an Arab-American now—unless you also happen to be a comedian. "I went to the airport check-in counter," says Egyptian-American comic Ahmed Ahmed to a packed room at L.A.'s Comedy Store. "The lady behind the counter asked if I packed my bags myself. I said yes—and they arrested me." The audience titters nervously. But by the time he gets to his first Osama joke—"The only virgin he'll get in the afterlife is Janet Reno"—they're giving up the big laughs. For the next two hours at the Sunset Strip club, Palestinian-American Aron Kader, Iranian-American Maz Jobrani and Armenian-American Sam Tripoli riff on their cultures while the mainly white and Hispanic crowd eats it up. Ahmed says they couldn't get arrested before 9-11. To which Jobrani jokes, "It's easy now."

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MOVIES

The Elusive Executive

A burned-out businessman weaves a tangled white-collar lie in a taut and disturbing French thriller

BY DAVID ANSEN

THE HARDWORKING HERO OF Laurent Cantet's haunting, remarkable "Time Out" ("L'Emploi du Temps") spends many busy hours behind the wheel of his car, on his cell phone, studying flowcharts or, like many another stressed-out white-collar bureaucrat, canceling plans with his wife and children. But what we gradually come to realize is that Vincent's (Aurélien Recoing) real work is maintaining the lie that he is working. In reality, he's lost his job as a corporate-affairs executive. Keeping this from his family, friends and in-laws becomes a full-time occupation as Vincent sets about constructing a fantasy that is both more terrifying, and in some perverse way, more satisfying, than his legitimate life had been.

"Time Out" has the mounting dread of a thriller, but the suspense is internal. It has the stately, well-crafted anxiety of a Hitchcock movie, except that the protagonist and antagonist are one and the same. A movie like this could never get made in Hollywood: Cantet thrives on ambiguity and nuance; he prefers questions to solutions. (Compare this with the Ben Affleck and Samuel Jackson psychological thriller "Changing Lanes," a tense, well-made corporate morality tale that seems facile next

to the French film: all the moral issues have been predigested for the audience.)

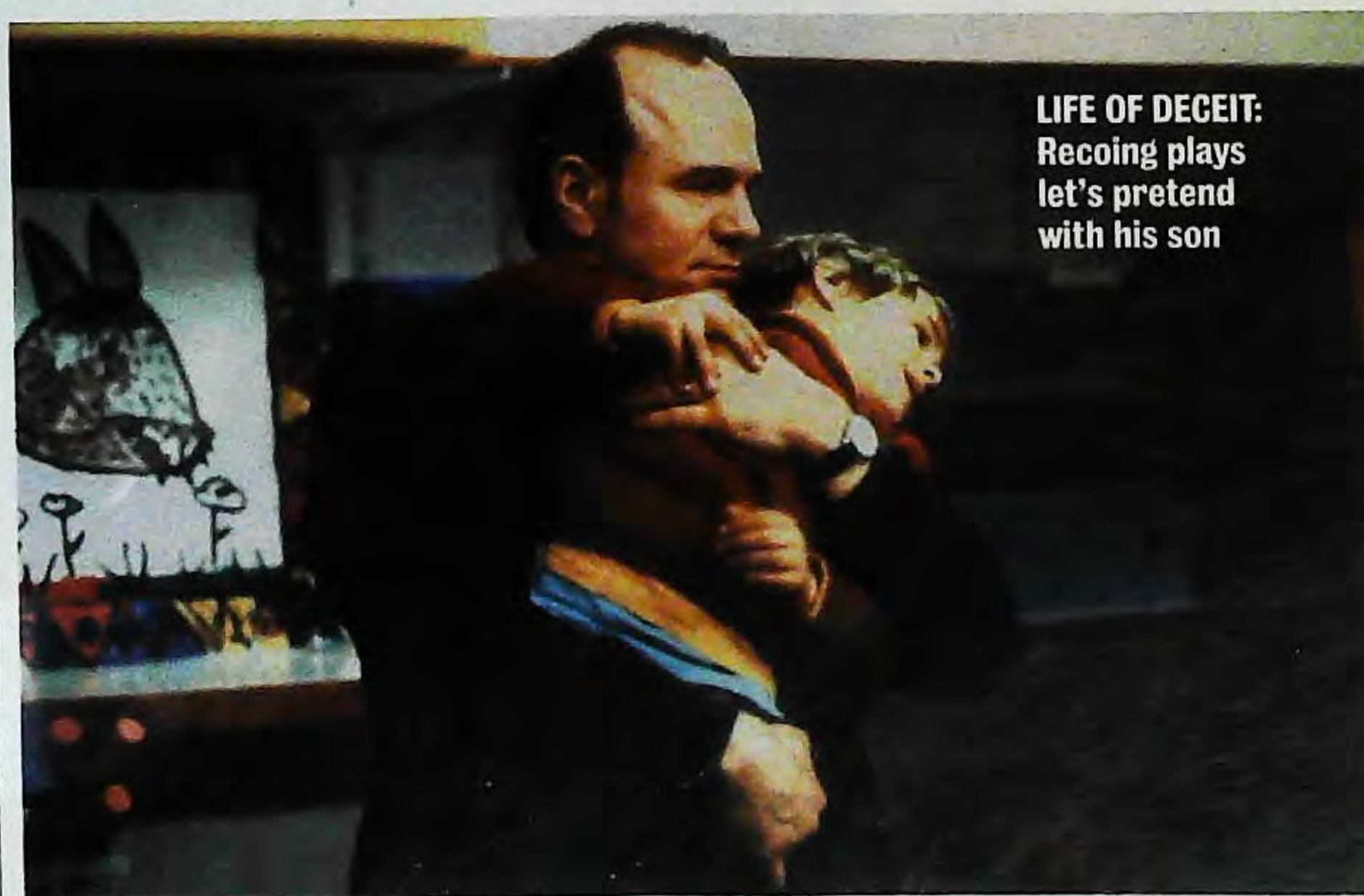
In Vincent's fabricated life, he's a U.N. consultant on Third World aid with an office in far-off Geneva. He gets his friends to "invest" in his made-up business schemes. But to repay them he needs to make money,

Time Out
THINKfilm
Open

which leads him to Jean-Michel (Serge Livrozet), a con man who sees through Vincent's charade, and offers him work smuggling fake watches across the French-

Swiss border. Where will all these deceptions lead? Cantet's resolution is unexpected and brilliantly double-edged.

Cantet is one of the few filmmakers whose subject is the workplace. His compelling first film, "Human Resources," was set in a factory, and had an almost documentary feel. "Time Out" is more stylish and hushed, at once suspenseful and melancholy. It can't be neatly fitted into a genre, just as its hero—played with devastating understatement by Recoing—can't be easily dismissed as a psycho or a villain. This is what makes Cantet's film so unusual and so unnerving: it refuses to pathologize Vincent. Smart, sensitive and resourceful, he could be anyone displaced in a world of meaningless work, desperately trying to create a life that makes sense. Except that Vincent is creating it out of thin air. ■



LIFE OF DECEIT:
Recoing plays
let's pretend
with his son



GOOD TIME GIRLS: Diaz and Applegate

More Sour Than Sweet

A chick flick only a 12-year-old boy could love

BY DAVID ANSEN

TALK ABOUT GOOD SPORTS. Cameron Diaz, Christina Applegate and Selma Blair are asked to humiliate themselves many times over in "The Sweetest Thing," and they do it with such game good spirits that they ought to get the actor's equivalent of a Purple Heart. A sub-Farrelly gross-out comedy for guys that masquerades as a chick flick, this crass romantic comedy follows the amorous and erotic misadventures of three single San Francisco roomies. Any comparison to "Sex and the City" is entirely unearned: there is more wit and comic savvy in any two minutes of the HBO show than in all of Nancy M. Pimental's clumsy script.

The Sweetest Thing
Sony
Open

Commitment-phobic good-time girl Christina Walters (Diaz) is thrown off her stride when she falls for the charming Peter (Thomas Jane) at a club. "The Sweetest Thing" shows some charm initially, but the minute Christina and her pal Courtney (Applegate) hit the road in pursuit of Peter, director Roger ("Cruel Intentions") Kumble's movie abandons all sense for scatology, maggots and strained, amateurishly executed slapstick about urinals and oral sex. The movie is R-rated, which means that those who might laugh at these jokes will have to sneak in. Still, Diaz proves once again that she can make the most superficial ditz surprisingly sympathetic, and a very grown-up Applegate shows a wry, deadpan comic finesse that is much better than the material deserves. The filmmakers have obviously studied "There's Something About Mary," and learned nothing. ■

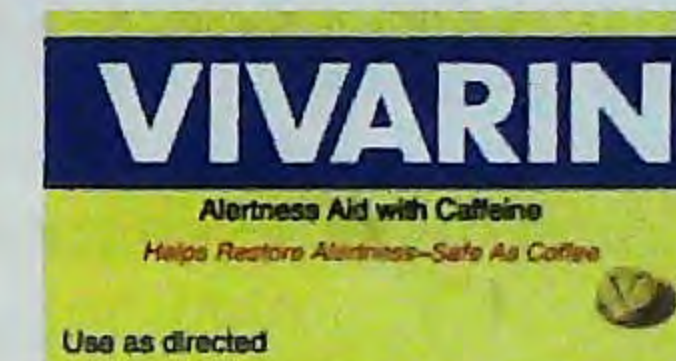
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NOT A GIRL, MORE THAN A WOMAN: Is the 21-year-old soul singer the next Aaliyah?

R & B

She's Killing Us Softly

Pass the Courvoisier, Ashanti's debut lands at No. 1

BY N'GAI CROAL

WHAT DO YOU GET A GIRL WHO has the No. 1 album and the No. 1 single in the country? For 21-year-old Ashanti, who looks like a million bucks in her chic navy-blue tracksuit—thong peeking over the waistline, natch—and a single bling's worth of diamonds, a raisin bagel and cream cheese will have to do. "They won't even let me eat," she whispers mischievously, just out of earshot of her handlers on the set of a photo shoot for a teen magazine. "So I'm sneaking it." With just three hours to catch her plane, however, there's no time for the petite beauty to chow down. So she hugs the photographer and his assistants, and heads for the car that will take her to the airport, with bagel in hand and camera crew in tow. During the 50-minute ride to JFK, the most endearing thing about Ashanti is the wide-eyed enthusiasm over her new pop life. Crying fans? "I've never experienced something so sincere." Three top 10 singles? "Never in a million years would I have thought it would go down like this." Five hundred thousand copies of her debut sold in the first week? "Beyond my wildest dreams—I'm still shocked."

Ashanti isn't alone: The whole music industry is shocked. Last week her eponymous album stormed past debuts like Lauryn Hill's and Alicia Keys's to set a record for first-week sales by a solo female artist. (Ashanti had already become the first artist since the Beatles to have her first three singles simultaneously occupy the top 10.) The ubiquity of her music still surprises

her. Just as she's being asked what it was like the first time she saw her video on BET's "106 & Park," her song comes on someone else's car radio in the clogged Manhattan streets, and she giggles and winds down her window to let the dulcet tones inside. "I'm getting all cheesy now," she says, then returns to the question at hand. "My whole family came to the house, 'cause we had a big TV in the middle of the living room. My cousin started crying, my aunts, they were screaming. It was hot."

It all makes up for the cold seven-year period during which record deals with Sony and Jive went nowhere. But that downtime let the native New Yorker bypass the teen-pop craze, pair up with hard-core rap producer Irv Gotti, and slide into the hip-hop soul slot that opened up after Aaliyah's untimely passing. Ashanti actually cites Mary J. Blige as her biggest influence, though her album never approaches Blige's gospel-fueled fervor; at her best, Ashanti skillfully evokes Aaliyah's slinky, insinuating midtempo simmer. Meanwhile, the nascent star is so tucked out from her schedule—last night's all-star AIDS benefit concert, today's six-hour photo shoot—that she curls up and falls asleep right after the interview, snoring ever so lightly. "Sorry for not being much company," she says after waking at the airport. "They tell me I'll get a day off in 2003." At this rate, make that 2004.

THEATER

'Topdog' on Broadway

Parks wins a Pulitzer

BY MARC PEYSER

SUZAN-LORI PARKS IS THE HALLE Berry of the theater, the first African-American woman to win the Pulitzer Prize for drama in its 84 years. Fitting, perhaps, since her play "Topdog/Underdog"—which opened on Broadway last week, just as the Pulitzers were announced—is about the difficulty of overcoming the past. "Topdog" is a Cain and Abel story of two dueling brothers, only these brothers are named Lincoln and Booth, which means they've got all sorts of racial and historical baggage piled on top of their deadly dynamic. Lincoln (Jeffrey Wright) is older and marginally more successful—at least he has a job, albeit as a black Abraham Lincoln impersonator at an arcade. Booth (Mos Def) is the dreamer, a petty thief who wants nothing more than to get married and outwit his brother at three-card monte. To make matters worse, the brothers live in a vile studio apartment, an incubator of petty grudges and lifelong pain. Sounds claustrophobic, doesn't it?

In fact, "Topdog" has an epic feel made all the more thrilling by Parks's linguistic panache. It's also hilarious. At one point, Booth rips off a store and comes home sporting his haul: two suits, two shirts, two ties, even two pairs of shoes. He then puts on a strip show that's better than anything in "The Full Monty." If "Topdog" has a flaw, it may be that Parks flaunts her comic and verbal dexterity at the expense of building to her fatal climax. Fortunately, Wright's Lincoln is smooth and wiry, and he turns Parks's

prose into lilting poetry. Though Mos Def is best known as a rapper, he's a marvel as Booth, at turns fiery and wounded, charming and terrifying. Parks couldn't find two better partners in crime.



UNCIVIL WAR: Mos Def, the actor

Topdog/Underdog
Ambassador Theatre
New York City

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Arts & Entertainment

ART

A Radical's Work Grows Old—Not So Gracefully

Are Barnett Newman's legendary paintings still shocking and profound, or just pretentious?

BY PETER PLAGENS

YOU CAN ALMOST IMAGINE OLD Barnett Newman doing stand-up. Monocle attached to his mustached, Gene Hackmanesque face, the belt line of his heavy suit hovering just under his armpits, a short biblike necktie adding a little color, he begins, "Seriously, folks, there is no such thing as a good painting about nothing." And sculpture? "That's something you bump into when you back up to look at a painting." (Rimshot.) "Hey, I gotta tell ya, an artist paints so that he will have something to look at." (Ba-doom.) Newman did say all those things (albeit without the shtik), but he was deadly serious. In fact, Newman (1905-70) was one of the most insufferably serious artists who ever lived. He is known primarily for large abstract paintings consisting of fields of flat color punctuated by vertical stripes (which he called "zips") of contrasting hues, to which he attached inordinately deep meaning. Take, for example, "If my work were properly understood, it would be the end of state capitalism and totalitarianism." One critic of the time said Newman was out to shock not just the bourgeoisie but other artists and the art world, too.

Newman, who majored in philosophy at New York's City College, was an impoverished self-proclaimed anarchist who kept failing the exam that would promote him from substitute art teacher in the public schools to a regular one. Consequently, his wife, Annalee, worked two jobs, while he dreamed up schemes like concocting a system for picking winners at the horse races and

running for mayor as a write-in candidate. As an artist, Newman couldn't bring himself to commit anything to an actual canvas until he was 40 years old. After he happened suddenly upon the zip in a small painting he made on his 43d birthday, his



first two solo shows in 1950 and '51 were trounced by the critics and yielded no sales but that of a single painting to a friend of Annalee's, who bought it as a face-saving favor. But by the time of his death just two decades later, Newman had become a huge influence on younger artists, particularly the minimalists, and was considered

by many to be the most advanced of the abstract expressionists because, some claimed, his zips transcended the emotionally self-indulgent paint-flinging of de Kooning and Pollock, and reached something approaching the sublime. That's the view taken, naturally, by the Philadelphia Museum of Art in this concise, elegantly installed Newman retrospective of 130 works, about half paintings and half watercolors and prints. (The show includes a few sculptures, but they're beside the point.) The question, though, is not so much whether Newman's colorful, but militantly austere, work measures up to the artist's big words (that would be impossible for almost any art), but whether—now that its days of appearing radical have

of Newman as a "master of expansive spatial effects." Even the pre-zip "Pagan Void" (1946) oozes primeval mystery and a sense of being present at the creation. The trouble is, in 2002 a little Newman goes a

Barnett Newman
Philadelphia
Museum of Art
Through July 7

long way. Compared with the somewhat similar but less contentious paintings of his contemporary Mark Rothko, Newman's paintings suffer from their intellectualism; when the very idea that an artist could get away with painting 20 running feet of just a field of color plus a few vertical stripes was cutting-edge, the work probably looked fresher. This is especially true of the monochrome-on-raw-canvas series "Stations of the Cross," which the artist painted during the 1960s. Newman typically pronounced that their uni-

LET'S GET SERIOUS: After the artist (right) painted his first canvas at 40, the amoebalike blobs of 'Pagan Void,' 1946 (left), quickly gave way to his signature 'zip' stripes in such paintings as 'End of Silence,' 1949 (above). He imagined his work could really change the world. Most critics of the time, unfortunately, thought otherwise.



long passed—it's really anything more than pretentious decoration.

At his best, Newman is a powerful painter. The predominantly red, 18-foot-wide "Vir Heroicus Sublimus" (inspired, Newman said, by Truman's firing of Douglas MacArthur during the Korean War) justifies curator Ann Temkin's estimation

form 78-by-60-inch size constituted "a human scale for the human cry." Certainly an artist is entitled to inspiration wherever he finds it, but you do have to wonder whether a Newman retrospective would come across as less didactic, and more satisfying, if only the guy had lightened up a little along the way.

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GLORIOUS FROM LEFT: BRUCE WHITE. COURTESY OF THE BARNETT NEWMAN FOUNDATION. 2. BURT GUNN—MAGNUM PHOTOS

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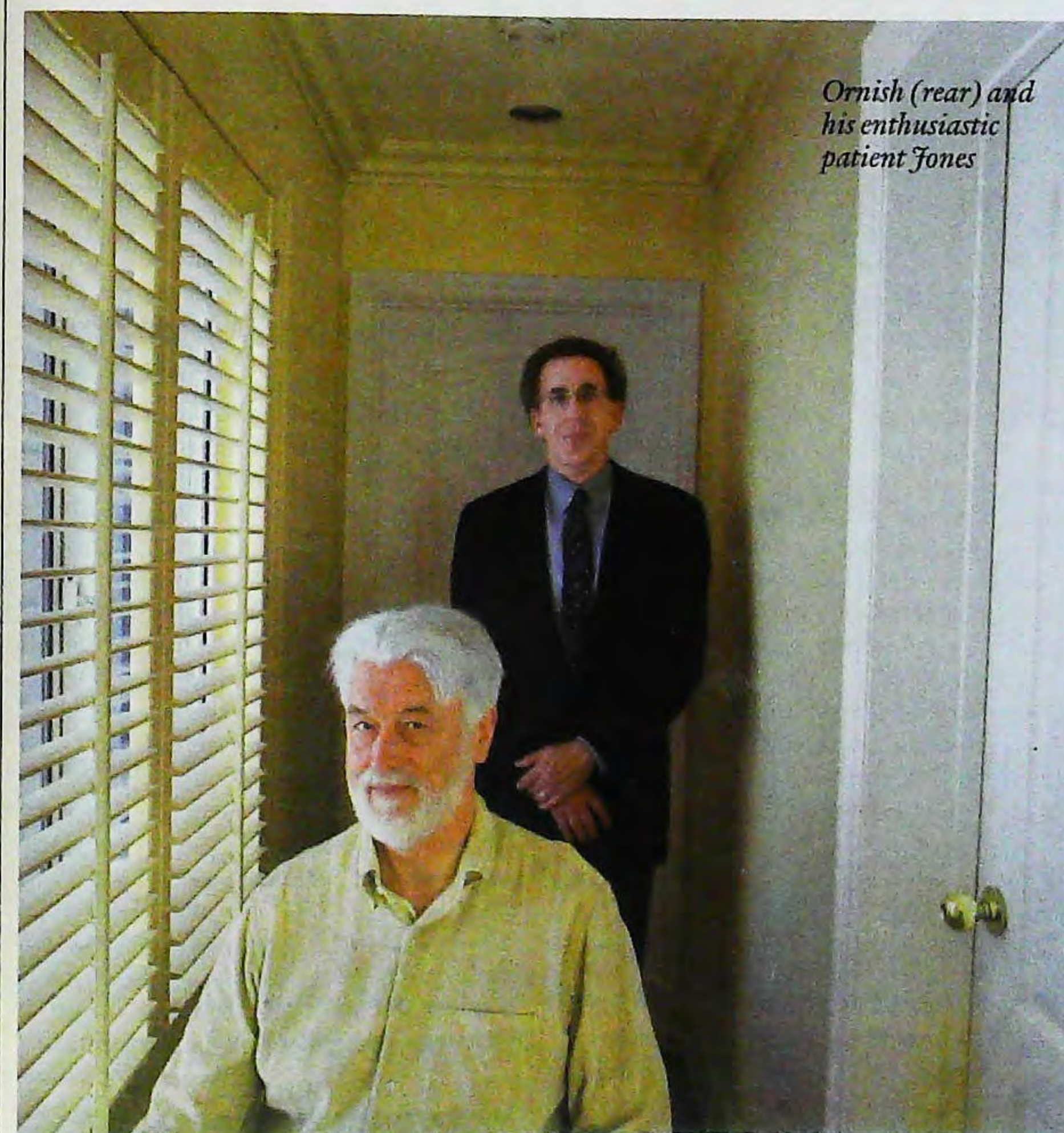
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Only 3 in 10 adult Americans exercise either vigorously (jogging for 20 minutes three days a week) or moderately (walking for at least 30 minutes five days a week). Married men in the West exercise the most.

SOURCE: THE CENTERS FOR DISEASE CONTROL

The Prostate Plan

Fresh findings suggest that changes in diet and lifestyle may slow prostate cancer. If the results hold up, surgery and radiation won't be the main choices.



Ornish (rear) and his enthusiastic patient Jones

BY DAVID NOONAN AND
KAREN SPRINGEN

WHEN JOHN STONE found out he had prostate cancer, he researched the conventional interventions, including surgery and radiation, and quickly learned the harsh truth—they don't always work, and can cause impotence and incontinence. After months of indecision, the 57-year-old

real-estate developer from Groveland, Calif., heard about a research project being conducted by Dr. Dean Ornish in San Francisco. Now, two years after his diagnosis and a year after starting the Ornish program—which is based on dramatic diet and lifestyle changes—Stone has come to a startling conclusion. Speaking for himself and his wife, Sandy, he says: "Prostate cancer is the best thing that ever happened to us."

That extreme statement reflects the ex-

treme changes required of Stone and other prostate-cancer patients taking part in Ornish's study, the first results of which were presented over the weekend at the Scientific Conference on Complementary, Alternative and Integrative Therapies at Harvard. Ornish's regimen is intense. It includes a vegan diet of fruits, vegetables, whole grains and beans (with soy products instead of dairy, and just 10 percent fat), no alcohol, three hours of aerobic exercise a week, an hour of meditation and other stress-management techniques each day, and weekly participation in a support group. Compliance is no cinch, even with cancer as the motivator.

The routine gets results, according to the study. After the first three months, Ornish reports, patients in the study showed an average 6.5 percent decrease in their PSA (prostate-specific antigen) level, a crucial blood marker for the disease. Ornish kept track of how well patients followed the guidelines and found PSA dropped an average of 9 percent among those who adhered closest to his regimen. His findings, he says, suggest diet and lifestyle changes may slow, stop or even reverse the progression of early prostate cancer. "Your body often has the ability to begin healing itself if you stop the behaviors contributing to the problem," says Ornish, a clinical professor of medicine at the University of California, San Francisco, best known for his equally unconventional work on heart disease. Ornish coauthored the study with Peter Carroll, chairman of urology at UCSF, and the late William Fair of New York's Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center.

For Stone, "a big meat-and-cheese man" who rarely exercised and once reached 300 pounds, the program has done more than lower his PSA (currently at 6.9 after peaking at nearly 10; anything above 4 is a red flag). It's changed his life. He's dropped

about 50 pounds, to 195, and lowered his cholesterol from about 200 to 135. He says he's fitter than he's ever been and even enjoys meditation and support-group sessions, things he once considered a joke. And Sandy, who's followed the program with him, has dropped 40 pounds. Best of all, Stone says, he's lost his fear. "If I'm having my PSA checked every three months and I don't have some rapid increase, it's a very liberating feeling," he says.

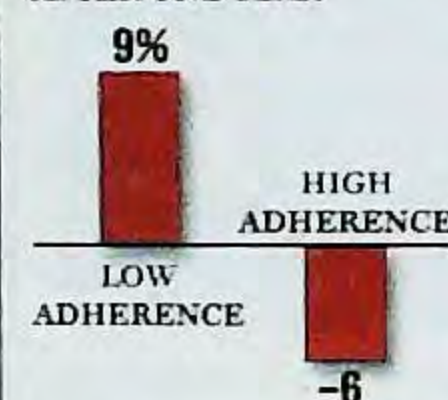
Not everyone is impressed by Ornish's study, which compared two groups of 42 men who had not received conventional treatment for their biopsy-documented prostate cancer. The 6.5 percent decrease in PSA levels after three months is not significant, says Joseph Smith, president of the Society of Urologic Oncology and chairman of the department of urologic surgery at Vanderbilt University. "It doesn't impress me." Most oncologists consider anything less than a 50 percent decrease to be insignificant, he says. Ornish acknowledges the drop in PSA levels is "not that big a change," but says it is statistically significant. "You don't need it to go down," he says. "You just need it to not go up."

Ornish is hardly alone in recognizing the

Live Well

Patients who can't stick to a healthy regimen see a rise in levels of the cancer-marker PSA.

Average Change in PSA
AFTER ONE YEAR



SOURCE: DR. DEAN ORNISH

power of fruits and vegetables. "Even without direct evidence that a certain diet will lower your risk of cancer, it makes sense for so many other things," says Dr. Leslie Ford of the National Cancer Institute. Prostate cancer is the second most common form of cancer among men, after skin cancer. This year, doctors will diagnose some 198,000 Americans with the disease, and more than 31,500 men are expected to die from it. Alan Jones, another of Ornish's patients, doesn't intend on being one of the latter statistics. The 62-year-old Episcopal dean of Grace Cathedral in San Francisco, Jones saw his PSA remain stable at 6.4 while taking part in Ornish's study. Like John Stone, he was reluctant to submit to surgery or radiation, with their side effects and recurrence rates (as high as 40 percent within two years of surgery). Jones also reports lower cholesterol. The irony of the situation is not lost on him. "I had to get cancer to get healthy."

BRIEF CASE

CHOLESTEROL

The Statin Supplement

STATIN DRUGS LIKE LIPITOR AND Mecavor are the standard treatment for high cholesterol. But noted cardiologist and nutritionist Dr. Stephen Sinatra has new and controversial advice on dealing with their dark side. Last year the widely cited, largest-ever study of cholesterol-lowering drugs called statins "safer than aspirin." While Sinatra agrees that the drugs can significantly lower the risk of heart problems, he's concerned they can interfere with a coenzyme called Q10 that's essential to the heart muscle.

Sinatra gives statins to people who've had heart surgery or a heart attack and can't lower their cholesterol naturally. He also prescribes statins to reduce high C-reactive-protein levels, which are a newly recognized marker for heart disease. Sinatra tells his statin patients to take coenzyme Q10 to offset any loss from the statins, but he advises people at less risk to lower their cholesterol with nutrition and exercise. The American Heart Association says more research is needed to determine coenzyme Q10's safety or usefulness.

JOINTS

Replacing Knee Replacement Surgery?

AS MANY MIDDLE-AGED JOGGERS know, the knees can be a very weak link. Each year more than 2 million Americans damage the cartilage that keeps the two main knee bones from rubbing. While there are various ways to repair the joint, major surgery to install an artificial knee is often the best choice. But a new kidney-shaped disc made of a composite called cobalt chrome might help people postpone that surgery for years, while allowing them to continue running and jumping. The UniSpacer Knee System is designed to replace damaged cartilage. In an hourlong surgery, the spacer is set

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STEPHEN P. WILLIAMS



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PATIENT POWER

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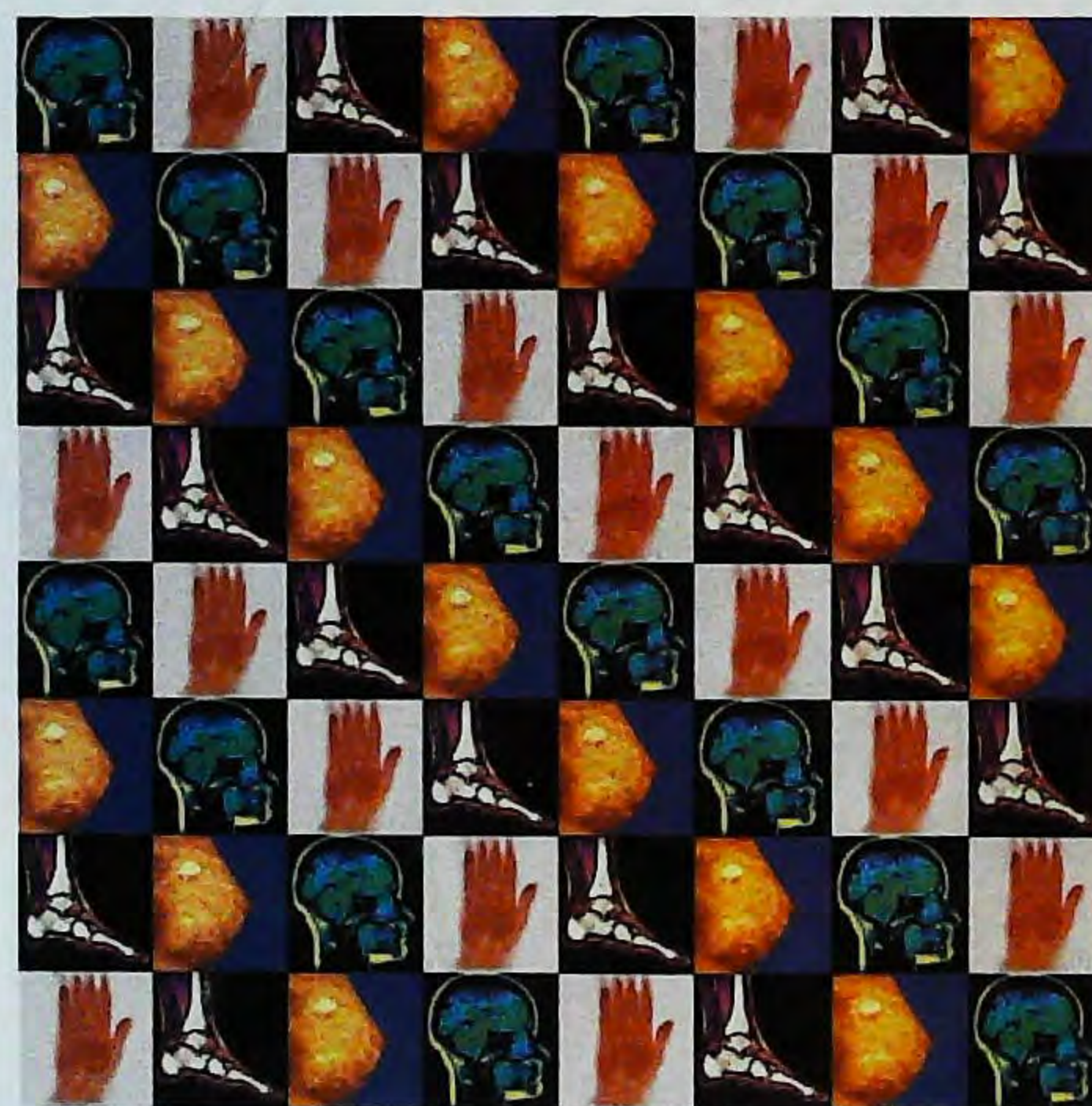
New services keep digital archives of your medical tests

By WAYNE J. GUGLIELMO

PUTTING A BURRO ON your grandparents' farm isn't exactly steer roping. But when a 5-year-old Dallas girl tried it during a birthday weekend in 1993, the normally docile animal bit her in the abdomen. The girl's life was saved by surgeons who removed part of her damaged large intestine. But the child still couldn't move her legs, so doctors ordered an MRI. A neurosurgeon reviewed the film and saw no evidence of spinal damage. There should have been a further review, but the film was lost until Monday morning. By then doctors couldn't find a pulse in either leg. By re-evaluating her MRI and performing emergency surgery, they discovered a clot blocking blood flow to her lower extremities. Surgeons managed to save the right leg, but severe muscle damage forced them to amputate the left one above the knee. At the malpractice trial that followed, jurors ruled the amputation could have been prevented, if only a radiologist had read the original MRI film in time.

From MRIs to X-rays to bone scans, there's probably no part of our medical record more critical than the diagnostic images of the body. Yet as those hard-copy images multiply, neither we nor medical personnel can keep track of them all. X-ray and other films are routinely lost or misfiled. And tons of them are purged each year by cost-conscious hospitals and labs. State laws vary, but mandated archival periods for adult tests generally range from five to seven years, after which films can be discarded, often without prior patient notification. (Kids' tests are stored longer.) The loss of patient films can prove troublesome, especially for crucial images like old mammograms. "Subtle change over time may mean something, so you need the archival record," says Dr. Bruce McClennan, head of diagnostic radiology at Yale-New Haven Hospital.

To help ease the image-banking glut, bigger hospitals and health systems in recent years have gone digital, using technology known as PACS (Picture Archiving and Communication System),



MRIs of the brain, hand and ankle; a mammogram

and more recently using the Web for easy distribution of images to both other doctors and patients themselves. The payoff has been significant. Managing diagnostic images digitally is not only more cost-effective for hospitals, but more reliable. And for patients with a PC, the Web makes access easy.

Here's how the system works at imaging centers and hospitals that use a Web-based service offered by RadVault, a California start-up. Once an X-ray, CT scan or MRI has been taken, a digital image of the test is delivered to a database at the imaging facility. Here, it's converted to a special computer language and encrypted (to comply with new federal privacy rules). The image is then sent over the Web to RadVault's data center, where it can be transmitted to others. Company-provided software enables end users to decrypt and store the image on a PC. For patients who want a record of their test at the time it's conducted, images can also be burned onto a CD or other portable storage medium—for under \$25. Smaller businesses offering services similar to RadVault's include NovaRad, InSiteOne and Radiology.com.

In addition to preserving one's medical records, the big plus for patients is facilitating second opinions. You can simply print out your images before visiting a doctor, or ask the imaging center to transmit them online directly. A personal image bank can also help if you're changing doctors.

There are some potential problems, of course. If you don't have a broadband Internet connection (such as cable or DSL), don't count on instant imaging. Pictures travel slowly along telephone lines. And, like any Web-based service, digital-image banking is subject to computer crashes and transmission brownouts. In the worst-case scenario, data might be lost. Or the "lifetime storage" promises that many companies make may be impossible to keep. No problem if the company survives your lifetime, but start-ups are not renowned for their longevity. To soothe such fears, some companies are buying continuation-of-business insurance, which guarantees their service will survive even if they don't.

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Does anyone really know what time it is?

Well, the U.S. Government wants to, so they created the National Institute of Standards and Technology, a component of the U.S. Department of Commerce. The Time and Frequency Division, located in Boulder, Colorado, maintains the F-1 Fountain Atomic Clock, the nation's standard of time. This clock neither gains nor loses a second in 20 million years. This watch is the next best thing to having your own atomic clock, because it automatically displays the precise accurate time. It sets itself to the F-1 Fountain Atomic Clock using a working battery, it



adjusts itself for daylight saving time and leap years, and it features a variety of practical and convenient features to fit your lifestyle.

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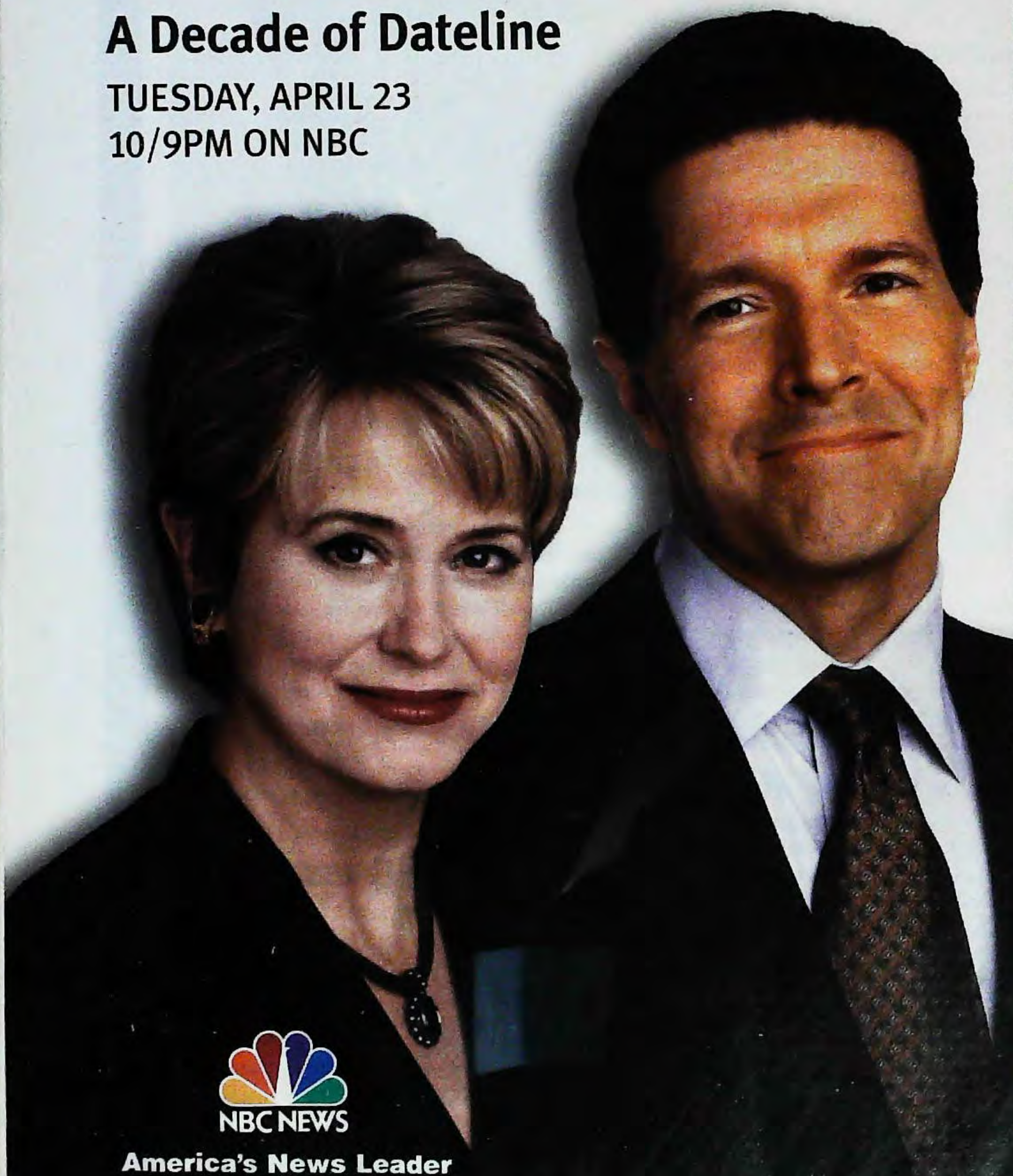
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NEWSMAKERS

A Star's Fall From Grace

R&B CROONER **R. Kelly** ONCE BELIEVED HE could fly. But since a home video surfaced of what appears to be the singer having sex with a young girl—who a family member says is 14—the 35-year-old singer has hit the ground with a thud. Though Kelly denies ever having sex with an underage girl, the backlash over the explicit tape has begun. Ministers in his hometown of Chicago are demanding radio stations pull R. Kelly from playlists. His new album with Jay-Z, "The Best of Both Worlds," is tanking. The rap world is also turning on Kelly: Sisco's new song "This Is the Heart" offers the scathing line: "The World's Greatest? Whateva! Ain't nothing but a child molester." Nas dissed his ex-bud onstage in L.A., while Jay-Z has refused to promote the album he did with Kelly, tour or have photos taken with him. Dr. Dre recently scrapped a track Kelly sang. Defending himself on Chicago's WGCI-FM, Kelly stated, "I'm not God." And in case anyone's still confused, he's no saint, either.



Cybill Shepherd wants to dish the dirt on her own cable show

The Naked Truth

OVER-THE-HILL ROCK STARS like Ozzy Osbourne aren't the only ones who deserve their own reality show. Or so thinks **Cybill Shepherd**, who is trying to interest cable networks in a "mockumentary" about her life as an aging actress and what it's like to re-enter the dating world. She plans to include frank discussions about her sex life and plenty of nudity on the show, explaining that women her age (52) are "still juicy" and "sexier than ever." Will TV execs and viewers be interested in seeing her naked? "But of course, my dear. But of course!"

Enough Already!

HE DIED MORE THAN 80 times in all, once every episode and in every fashion imaginable. He was stabbed. He was mauled. He was electrocuted. Once, doctors inadvertently replaced his heart with a baked potato. But **Kenny**, the adorable, unintelligible "South Park" star in the orange hooded sweat shirt, always came back. Until now. Show creators Matt Stone and Trey Parker have announced that Kenny's most recent death—of a muscular disease on the Dec. 5 episode—would be his last. They simply ran out of funny ways to kill the kid. Says a not-so-choked-up Stone: "I couldn't care less. I am so sick of that character." Amen. Goodbye, sweet Kenny.



Bird on a Wire

WONDERING WHAT'S GOING on with "The Matrix" sequels? Here's what we heard through the grapevine. Marvin Gaye's daughter **Nona Gaye**, who got good reviews as Will Smith's second wife in "Ali," has replaced Aaliyah in a pivotal role that the soul sensation was

scheduled to play before her death in a plane crash last summer. Sources close to the production tell NEWSWEEK that Aaliyah had shot some test footage and begun the arduous martial-arts training for the Wachowski brothers' spectacular wire-fu sequences, but that principal photography hadn't yet begun when she died. With Gaye on the set in Australia, alongside such previously cast lovelies as Carrie-Anne Moss, Jada Pinkett-Smith and Monica Bellucci, just thinking about "The Matrix" sequels makes us wanna holler.

LORRAINE ALI,
JULIE SCELFO,
DEVIN GORDON and
N'GAI CROAL

Casting about: 'South Park's' Kenny; Nona Gaye

Tough going for R. Kelly

POWELL'S PATH TO JERUSALEM

It was strewn with discarded preconditions for a meeting with Arafat, who disdained them

By GEORGE F. WILL

LAST WEEK THE WASHINGTON POST REPORTED "THE belief held by many Israelis that the recent suicide bombings are an example of anti-Jewish violence." Those who hold this "belief" reject alternative explanations of the violence, such as: The terrorists are targeting Brazilians but are confused about which hemisphere they are in.

Intellectual confusion and moral miasma, expressed in Orwellian language, now permeate U.S. policy and media coverage concerning the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Hence the entire war on terrorism is out of kilter. Can an administration that is jerked around like a small poodle on a short leash held by Yasir Arafat mount a major war to change the Iraqi regime? The administration's position is that Arafat is not a terrorist, he is a plausible peacemaker. So how does the administration convince Bush's "mighty coalition" (which is mightily wary of war with Iraq, even one in which it is merely a spectator) that Saddam Hussein is unregenerate and intolerable?

Stroking the coalition matters more and more as Colin Powell becomes more and more ascendant. For years before becoming secretary of State, Powell's vocation was to be the most admired American, traveling about being lionized. He likes being liked, and hence likes consensus, such as he enjoyed last week in Madrid. There representatives of the United Nations, Russia and the European Union said what they usually say, and a "senior American official" gushed that this enabled Powell "to go to the region with these guys behind him."

Actually, Powell was eager to get behind the United Nations', EU's and Russia's pressuring of Israel and concern for Arafat. But why does Russia, a pale shadow of a great power, have a role in this? Anti-Semitism stains much of what the United Nations does. And as for the Europeans: Last week showed that two aspects of 20th-century Europe are alive in the 21st—an appeasement reflex and anti-Semitism. The day the European Parliament threatened economic warfare—trade sanctions—against Israel unless it desisted from its attack on Palestinian terrorism, a Jewish school bus was stoned in Paris. The French government's ambassador to Britain recently blamed much of the world's troubles on "that shitty little country Israel."

Arafat is gorging himself on a feast of U.S. retreats. Powell arrived in Jerusalem ahead of schedule, probably to appease Arab critics. And Powell's path to Jerusalem was strewn with discarded preconditions—the president's, the vice president's, his own—for U.S. assistance to Arafat.

No meeting with Arafat without an end to the violence? Never mind. No meeting without at least a call by Arafat, in person and in Arabic, for an end to the violence? Never mind. It was settled—



or so it seemed—U.S. policy that there should not be political talks until there is a truce of proven durability. But by the time Powell reached Jerusalem—the day after one suicide bombing and the day before another—he had promised the Palestinians that political talks would be linked "instantly" to a truce.

Powell counts it a victory that he has Arab nations' assurances that they will help "reconstitute" the Palestinian Authority's "security" and other institutions that Israel is spending much blood and treasure to disrupt. If Powell believes that the PA's purpose is constructive, what else can he manage to believe? Already he and others in the administration believe they are entitled to insist that Israel respond to incessant terrorism less emphatically than the United States responded to September 11. And some in the administration—including Powell—feel entitled to supplant Israel's public as the chooser of Israel's government.

There is a danger that the president, having made a hash of the principles he has articulated about zero tolerance for terrorism and regimes that facilitate it, will be

able to regain emotional equilibrium only by deciding that the problem is personal—that his tormentor is Ariel Sharon. The Clinton administration toiled at undermining Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu because he was an impediment to the appeasement of Arafat. Now the Bush administration may be behaving similarly toward Sharon.

The day Powell arrived in Jerusalem, The Washington Post reported that "senior White House aides are beginning to express doubts about whether the Israeli leader can be a long-term partner in achieving the administration's goals in the Middle East." Evidently these aides think that Arafat can be. Hours after that Post story appeared, the White House veered toward turning down criticism of Israel and urging Arab nations to do "more"—as though they have done something—to be helpful. Thus is an administration seen to be all sail and no anchor.

Before Powell began his trip, one question was: What would happen if, during the trip, another suicide bomber struck? The question was answered last Wednesday, when a terrorist, with nails and screws packed around about 18 pounds of high explosive, killed himself and eight Israelis on a bus. The administration's response, delivered by presidential spokesman Ari Fleischer shortly after the body parts had been scraped off the pavement, was that the mass murder demonstrated "the need for all parties to pull back, for Israel to withdraw and for the Palestinians and the Arabs to stop the violence, stop the killing."

The echo of the suicide bomb was a U.S. call for Israel to retreat. So, not surprisingly, two days later another suicide bomber built on this success. Terrorism works. That is the dominant lesson that U.S. policy is teaching seven months after September 11.

Last week ended with the president diminished by issuing ineffectual demands to all parties in the Middle East. His secretary of State was on a spectacularly ill-advised trip to the Middle East, where, his agenda unclear and his talks punctuated by the concussions of terrorist bombs, he was held hostage to events. The president needs a new policy, and perhaps a new secretary of State.

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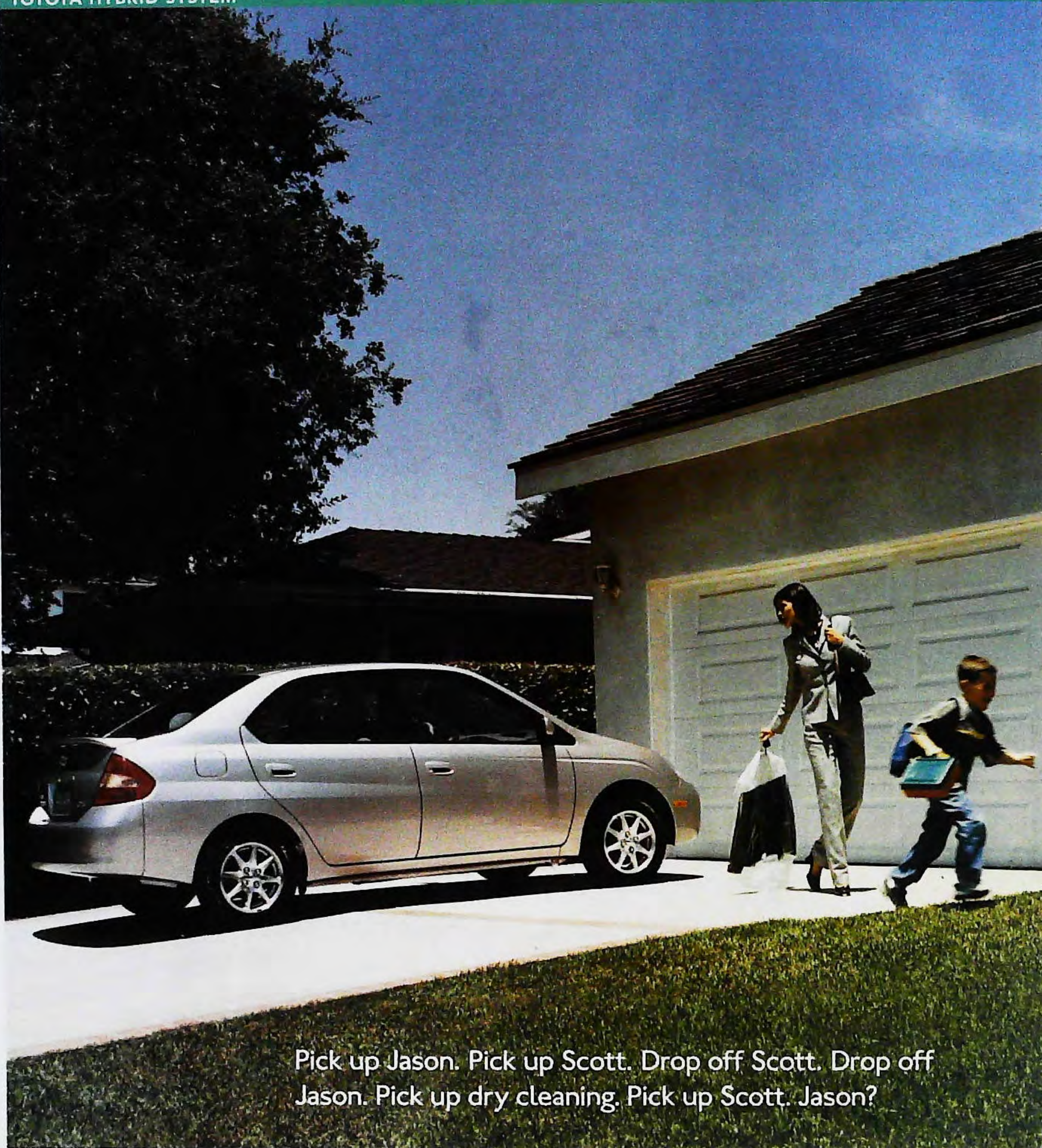
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